



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES

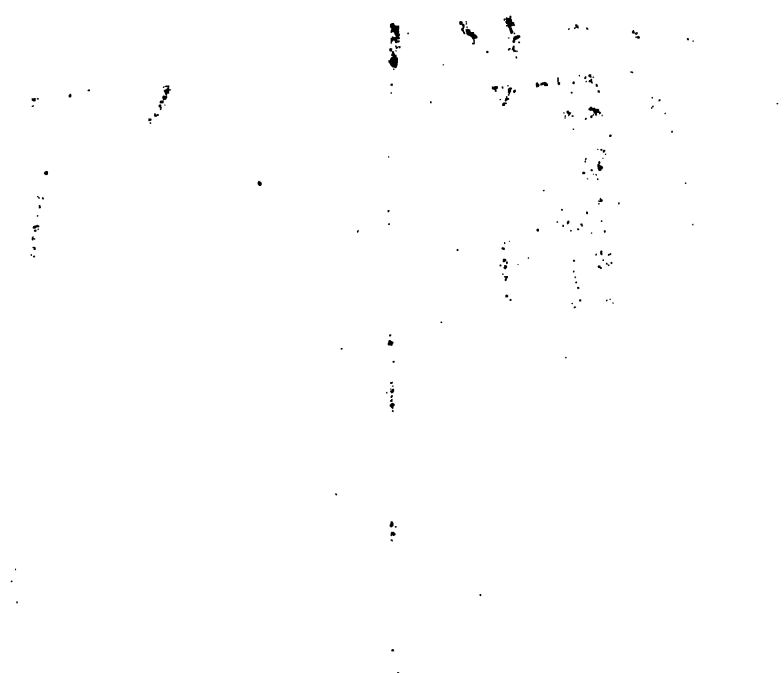


3 3433 07484160 6



STG
Washington





Washington & Lee University,
Lexington, Virginia.

Nov 26th 1890-

Clarence W. Brown, Esq.

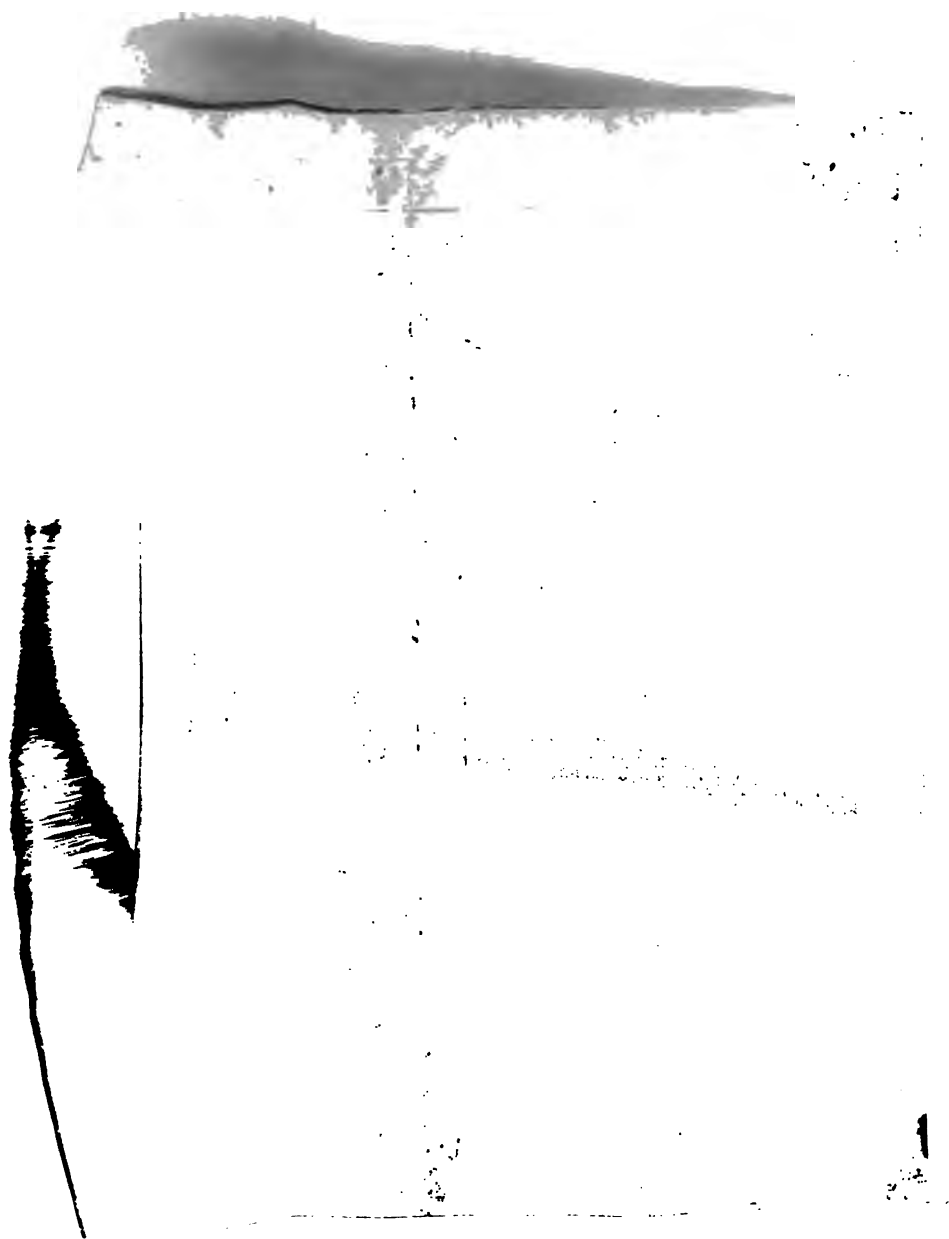
Dear Sir-

I take pleasure
to you -

Very truly yours -

W. L. Campbell

BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.
1890.



WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

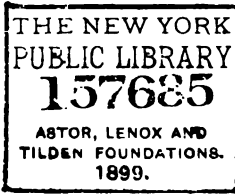
HISTORICAL PAPERS

No. 1. — 1890

1. **EARLY HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, NOW WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY. BY REV. HENRY RUFFNER, D. D., LL. D., LATE PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE.**
 2. **WASHINGTON COLLEGE, LEXINGTON, VA.: AN ARTICLE FROM THE SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER, 1838. BY SAMUEL L. CAMPBELL, M. D.**
 3. **LETTER ON THE LOCATION OF ROBERT ALEXANDER'S SCHOOL, JOHN BROWN'S RESIDENCE, AND MOUNT PLEASANT. BY JUDGE JAMES T. PATTON.**
-

**BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.**

1890.



PREFACE.

This little work was undertaken about the year 1840, at the request of the professors and Society of Alumni of the College, who were to publish it in a separate volume for circulation. I found the undertaking much more laborious than I had anticipated, because the old records of the institution were mutilated and defective, and much information had to be collected from various and sometimes distant sources. This circumstance, with the pressure of official duties, and failing health, caused such delay, that the first part was not finished until 1844, nor the second part until 1847. When, after so long a time, I at last got the manuscript ready for publication, circumstances had changed, the yearly meetings of the Society of Alumni had ceased, and the work lay on my hands uncalled for. Resolved neither to publish at my own cost nor to solicit the aid of others, on the eve of my intended resignation of the presidency, I expected the work to die with me; until, subsequently to my removal westward, I was informed that it would be an acceptable contribution to the *Southern Literary Messenger*. After some unavoidable delay, I have now revised the manuscript and cheerfully send it for publication in our Virginia magazine (one of the best in America) as a historical document of Virginia. The subject, though local and particular, has afforded me occasion to notice many facts, historical and biographical, not immediately connected with the academy from which the College sprang; and in the second part, embracing a more recent period, I have interwoven with the facts many comments and opinions concerning the general management of literary institutions and the subject of liberal education. After so long experience in these matters, I thought that I might, without presumption, speak with freedom about them.

The reader will, I trust, find this little history to be composed of something more interesting than the commonplace incidents of a seminary of learning. But if on reading a few chapters he finds it destitute of both amusement and instruction, he can leave the remainder unread and console himself with the reflection that if he has lost an hour in its perusal, the poor author has lost many a weary hour in its composition.

HENRY RUFFNER.

MONTAVIS, (NEAR KANAWHA SALINES,)
October, 1857.

This work is now published by the order of the Board of Trustees, with notes prepared by William Henry Ruffner, LL. D., son of the author, and the Committee. It is believed it will prove a valuable contribution to the history of the Institution. With it are published Dr. Campbell's article in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, so often alluded to in the history, and an interesting letter from Judge James T. Patton, on the location of Robert Alexander's school, John Brown's residence and Mount Pleasant. This number will be followed by other numbers containing papers which serve to elucidate the history of the University.

WILLIAM McLAUGHLIN,
WILLIAM A. GLASGOW,
HENRY ALEXANDER WHITE,
Committee.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY,
September, 1890.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
✓ EARLY HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, NOW WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY. BY REV. HENRY RUFFNER, D. D., LL. D., LATE PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE.	

PART I.

Chapter I. Introductory Notice of the Presbyterian Settlements in the Valley of Virginia.....	1
II. Liberty Hall Academy, instituted in the year 1776, and located at Timber Ridge Church.....	11
III. Difficulties of the Academy. It is suspended in 1780; then, in 1783, removed and chartered.....	26
IV. The struggles of the Academy; its temporary coalition with the Synod; its new building and its debts.....	31
V. The Donation of General Washington and the resignation of Mr. Graham.....	50

PART II.

Chapter I. From the resignation of Mr. Graham until the appointment of Mr. Baxter as Rector.....	67
II. Debts; difficulties; income from stocks; loss by fire....	77
III. Removal of the seat of the Academy to the town; disorder among the students; sundry particulars.....	86
IV. Donation of the Cincinnati Society.....	102

WASHINGTON COLLEGE, LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA: AN ARTICLE FROM THE SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER, 1838. BY SAMUEL L. CAMPBELL, M. D.....	107
--	-----

LETTER ON THE LOCATION OF ROBERT ALEXANDER'S SCHOOL, JOHN BROWN'S RESIDENCE, AND MOUNT PLEASANT. BY JUDGE JAMES T. PATTON.....	125
--	-----

EARLY HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

PART I.

**CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF LIBERTY HALL ACADEMY TO THE
DONATION OF GENERAL WASHINGTON AND THE RESIGNATION
OF WILLIAM GRAHAM, THE FIRST RECTOR.**

CHAPTER I.

**INTRODUCTORY NOTICE OF THE PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENTS
IN THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA.**

From the year 1606, when Jamestown was first permanently settled, it required about one hundred years for the infant colony of Virginia to extend itself upwards to the neighborhood of the Blue Ridge. The settlements on the upper branches of the Rap-
pahannock, and in the Northern Neck, between this river and the Potomac, seem first to have approached the high mountain barrier, whose tops, covered with a blue mist, had long attracted the eyes of the settlers in the distant plains below. Near the Potomac the Ridge is less rugged and forbidding in its aspects, than it is farther toward the southwest. When it was surmounted by exploring parties of white men and displayed to their view the beauty and fertility of the vale of Shenando, and of the uplands beyond it; the temptation was irresistible and hardy adventurers soon braved every danger for the sake of a possession so alluring. They began to form settlements on the rich low grounds of the Shenando, but soon ventured upon the pleasant uplands beyond. About the same time the settlements in Pennsylvania were rapidly spreading

themselves along the Great Limestone Valley towards the Potomac, and some enterprising families passed over into Virginia and seated themselves on the same rich uplands. There in a basin-shaped cavity was founded the town of Winchester, where the facility of obtaining water proved more attractive than fine prospects from the surrounding hills. This, the oldest¹ town in the Great Valley of Virginia, continued to be a frontier post until the French were driven out of Canada.

Happily for these infant settlements, the country between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany was not inhabited by Indians, except by a band of Tuscaroras on the creek which bears their name. The white settlers near these Tuscaroras were chiefly Quakers, from Pennsylvania, "William Penn's People," whom the Indians well knew and justly regarded as friends to their race, because they were men of peace, and never occupied Indian lands until they had purchased them for a fair equivalent.

As the eastern part of our Valley lay equally convenient to settlers from Pennsylvania and from lower Virginia, its population became a mixture of English Virginians, and German and Scotch-Irish Pennsylvanians. Some of the latter were recent emigrants from Europe, who had landed at Philadelphia, and sooner or later, made their way thence to the new settlements in Virginia.

The German Pennsylvanians, being passionate lovers of fat lands, no sooner heard what quantities of them their brethren had found unoccupied in the Valley of Virginia, than they began to pour themselves forth, with their brethren from Europe, over the country above Winchester. Finding the main Shenando mostly pre-occupied, they followed up its North and South Branches on both sides of the Massanutten, or Peaked Mountain, until they filled up all the rich vales of the country for the space of sixty miles. So completely did they occupy this part of the Great Valley, that the few stray English or Irish settlers among them did not sensibly affect the homogeneousness of the population. They long retained, and for the most part do still retain, their German language, and the German simplicity of their manners.

¹ See Campbell's *History of Virginia*, Chapter LIV, p. 428 ; also LVII, p. 438.

Of late years, indeed, a sensible transition has been in progress about the borders of their settlements, and about the villages where law and trade have caused a mixture of population, and made inroads upon the speech, manners, and dress imported from their *fatherland*. This change has grieved their old people, who cannot give up the energetic language of their sires, though its classical beauties be unknown to them, nor the plain homespun dress of old times, nor see their children give them up, without sorrowing for the degeneracy of their race. Not a few of these Germans of the Valley have become anglicized by dispersion, where they have been led by the temptation of good farms to plunge into the mass of their Scotch-Irish neighbors. Less disposed than others to distant migrations and better qualified by their free labor to renovate the exhausted soils of the country, they are gradually filling up¹ the vacancies left by their emigrating neighbors and slowly amalgamating with those who remain. But without an efficient school system in Virginia another century will pass away before they become an intelligent people, or adopt fully the language and manners of our general population.

How far they might have originally filled up the Valley, if the way had been clear, we cannot tell ; but ere they had reached the head springs of the Shenando, their immigrant columns were intercepted by another race (James River Settlers) who soon filled up an equal space beyond them in this new land of promise.

For the want of towns and roads, the new settlers in the Valley were supplied with many needful articles by pedlers who went from house to house. Among these itinerant venders of small wares, was one Morlin (or Marland) who, in Williamsburg, met with John Salling, an enterprising German, who, struck with his account of the Valley, came up with him to explore it. From Winchester they proceeded southwestwardly far beyond the settlements, to the vale of the James River. Here at the mouth of the North River, Salling found a beautiful bottom, overshadowed with mountains, where he determined to make a settlement. The exploring tour ended here. Salling returned to Williamsburg, obtained a grant for the beautiful bottom and settled upon it with a brother of his named Peter Adam Salling. John remained a

¹ 1857.

bachelor, but Peter Adam was married, and his posterity are still found in the country. There are inconsistent traditional reports of his captivity and adventures among the Indians and Spaniards of Louisiana. The one given by Hugh P. Taylor and after him by Withers, in his *Border Warfare*, is quite romantic; and pity 'tis, if it be not the true one. But there is another, different in some material particulars, floating somewhat vaguely in the traditional recollections of the family. Howbeit, they agree that he was for several years a captive, was taken to the lower Mississippi and returned to his family after his strange and eventful wanderings. The Sallings appear to have been the first settlers upon the waters of the James River above the Blue Ridge. Not long after John Salling had made his tour of exploration with Morlin, two strangers from Britain, John Lewis¹ and John Mackey, came to Williamsburg, where as tradition relates they heard Salling's story with admiration. They heard of a broad valley beyond the Blue Mountains, a variegated region of hills and vales, watered by clear streams; its soil fertile, its lower grounds covered only with shrubbery, and a rich herbage grazed by herds of buffalo, and its hills crowned with forests,—a land of beauty, for the most part as yet untouched by the hand of man, and offering unbought homes and easy subsistence to all who had the enterprise to scale the mountain barrier, by which it had been so long concealed from the colonists. Charmed with the description, they came to the valley and with their own eyes saw that the report was true. They determined, therefore, to settle in this new Arcadia, and having the whole land before them where to choose, Lewis selected his residence near the middle fork of the Shenando, on a creek which bears his name, near the present town of Staunton. Mackey went farther up the Middle River and settled near the Buffalo Gap, a place where the wild herds were accustomed to pass through the North Mountain. This was the sort of place that Mackey loved, for his heart was more delighted with hunting than with the tame pursuits of agriculture.

¹ See Peyton's *History of Augusta County*. He says John Lewis came to Pennsylvania from Ireland and moved thence into the Valley with Joist Hite. From the Opecquon he went to Bellefonte, near Staunton, and there settled. Dr. Ruffner follows Campbell and Foote, but Waddell seems to prefer Peyton's account.—W. H. R.

Lewis, who was evidently a man of energy and forethought, obtained authority from the government to locate 100,000 acres of land in separate parcels, in the vacant country around him. While he was exploring the country to select good lands Mackey would frequently accompany him for the pleasure of hunting the buffalo. The result was, that Mackey died, as he had lived, a poor hunter; but that Lewis provided for his family a rich inheritance of lands. Possessed of this and of the inherent energy of their founder, the Lewis family afterwards occupied a distinguished rank among the families of Western Virginia.

In the spring of the year 1736, Lewis, on a visit to Williamsburg, met with Benjamin Burden who had lately come over as agent for Lord Fairfax, proprietor of the Northern Neck. Burden accepted Lewis's invitation to visit him in his new home in the Valley. He spent several months with his friend and hunted the buffalo with him and his sons Samuel and Andrew. But he was a more provident hunter than Mackey. The party happened once to take a young buffalo calf, which Samuel and Andrew Lewis tamed, and gave to Burden to take with him to Williamsburg. This sort of animal was unknown in lower Virginia; the calf would, therefore, be an interesting curiosity at the seat of government. Burden presented the shaggy young monster to Governor Gooch. The governor was so delighted with this rare pet, and so pleased with the donor¹ that he promptly entered an order in his official book, authorizing Benjamin Burden to locate 500,000 acres of land, or any less quantity, on the waters of the Shenando and James Rivers on the conditions that he should not interfere with any previous grants, and that within ten years he should settle at least one hundred families upon the granted lands. On these conditions he should be freely entitled to one thousand acres adjacent to every house, with the privilege of entering as much more of the contiguous lands at the rate of one shilling per acre. Burden returned forthwith to Britain for emigrants, and the next year, 1737, brought over upwards of a hundred families to settle upon his granted lands. At this time the spirit of emigration was

¹ There is such an air of romance about this story of the calf, and of its influence upon Burden's grant, that I will quote Withers as my authority. It may be literally true. Greater events have often sprung from less causes.

particularly rife among the Presbyterians in the Northern parts of Ireland and Scotland, and in the adjacent parts of England. Burden's colonists were mostly Irish Presbyterians, who, being of Scottish extraction, were often called Scotch-Irish. A few of the native Scotch and Northern English were mixed with the early settlers, but all, or nearly all, of the same Presbyterian stamp. Among the primitive emigrants to Burden's grant, we meet with the names of some who have left a numerous posterity, now dispersed far and wide, from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi and beyond it; such as Ephraim McDowell, Archibald Alexander, John Patton, Andrew Moore, Hugh Telford, John Matthews, &c.

The first party was soon joined by others, mostly of their connections and acquaintances in the mother country. These again drew others after them and they all increased and multiplied, until ere the first generation had passed away the whole land was filled with them. Then they began to send forth the colonies to new lands, southward and westward, until now, there is scarce a county in the Valley of the Mississippi, where some of their descendants may not be found.

Although some lands on the upper branches of the Shenando were not included in Burden's grant, yet from the German settlements upwards to the vale of James River, the population was generally Presbyterian, so that the whole mass for sixty miles or more along the Valley was scarcely less homogeneous and peculiar than the mass of Germans below them.

Few of the old colonists of Virginia migrated to these parts of the Valley. They lived by the cultivation of tobacco. Tobacco was the sole staple of their trade; tobacco was their money; an Arcadian life among green pastures and herds of cattle had no charms for them; tobacco was associated with all their ideas of pleasure and of profit. But how was a hogshead of tobacco to be rolled¹ to market through the rugged defiles of the Blue Ridge? Not until roads and navigation offered new facilities of trade, and the Indian weed itself lost some of its importance did the Valley cease to repel settlers from the lowlands of Virginia. Hence the

¹ It was the custom of the planters in those times and of many long afterwards to carry their tobacco to market by attaching wheels to the ends of the hogsheads and thus rolling them by means of draft horses over their level roads.

mixture of heterogeneous elements in the population, has never, until lately, been sufficient to vary the true blue hue of their primitive Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism.

When, in addition to the names before mentioned, we give others of the more numerous and influential families, long settled on Burden's grant,—the Prestons, the Paxtons, the Pattons, the Pattersons, the Lyles, the Grigsbys, the Stuarts, the Crawfords, the Cumminses, the Carutherses, the Wallaces, the Willsons, the Campbells, the McCampbells, the McClungs, the McClures, the McCues, the McKees, the McCowns, &c., &c., no one acquainted with the race that imbibed the indomitable spirit of John Knox, can fail to recognize the relationship.

One who is of a different race may be permitted to speak freely of their characteristics.

They had no sooner found a home in the wilderness, than they betook themselves to clearing fields, building houses and planting orchards, like men who felt themselves now settled, and were disposed to cultivate the arts of civilized life. Few of them ran wild in the forest, or joined the bands of white hunters, who formed the connecting link between the savage aborigines and the civilized tillers of the soil.

They showed less disposition than the English colonists to engage in traffic and speculative enterprises. Without being dull or phlegmatic, they were sober and thoughtful, keeping the native energy of their feelings under restraint, and therefore capable, when exigencies arose, of calling forth exertions as strenuous and persevering as the occasion might require.

In their devotion to civil liberty, they differed not from the majority of their fellow-colonists. Their circumstances in a new country, planted by themselves, far remote from the metropolitan government, and even the air of the wild mountains which they breathed, fostered and strengthened their ancestral spirit of freedom.

As Presbyterians, neither they nor their forefathers would submit to an ecclesiastical hierarchy, and their detestation of civil tyranny descended to them from the Covenanters of Scotland. Hence, in the dispute between the colonies and the mother country, the Presbyterians of the Valley, and indeed throughout the colo-

nies, were almost unanimously Whigs of the firmest and most unconquerable spirit. Those of our mountains were amongst the bravest and most effective militia, when called into the field. General Washington, in the darkest days of the Revolutionary struggle, expressed his confidence in their indomitable spirit;—when he said that if all other resources should fail, he might yet repair with a single standard to West¹ Augusta,² and rally a band of patriots, who would meet the enemy at the Blue Ridge, and there establish the boundary of a free empire in the West. This saying of the Father of his Country has been variously reported, but we have no reason to doubt that he did in some form declare his belief that in the last resort he could yet gather a force in Western Virginia which the victorious armies of Britain could not subdue.

Another characteristic of these people was their stiff Calvinistic, or as some would call it, Puritanical morality. Founded on religious principle, this morality was sober, firm and consistent, though in some of its aspects too stern to be altogether winning, and often unadorned by that refinement of manners which imparts a charm to the exercise of virtue in the common intercourse of life. But much of their austerity should be forgiven, in consideration of the precious substance of virtue within it. Their moral character was a rough diamond, but it was nevertheless a diamond which would brighten most under the hardest rubs.

The root of their morality was, as we have intimated, religious principle, deeply grounded by education, and nurtured by constant attendance on religious exercises.

¹ In Irving's *Life of Washington* (and in Marshall's), the phrase is not *West Augusta*, but only *Augusta*,—(then including Rockbridge, Botetourt, &c.)—two companies of whose soldiers were with Washington at Braddock's defeat, also at the Battles of the Great Meadows, Grant's Hill, &c., &c.,—while *West Augusta* was a distinct territory (represented in the first Virginia Convention) organized and named about 1777, including Pittsburg and adjacent country, now Pennsylvania. All the testimony of history I can find seems to prove that Washington did not refer to *West Augusta* (i. e., Pittsburg and Pennsylvania) but meant and said *Augusta*.—(Note by COL. B. CHRISTIAN.)

² *Augusta County* then included the present *County of Rockbridge*, and extended westward across the *Alleghany*. This, as the central territory of *Western Virginia*, was to be, if necessary, the gathering place for the last struggle against British domination.

No sooner had they provided necessary food and shelter for their families, than they began to provide also for the decent worship of God. They built churches and called pastors to the full extent of their ability. Their pastors were either from the old country or from the Scotch-Irish settlements in Pennsylvania, from which some families of the same stock migrated to this part of Virginia. While their settlements were sparse their churches were necessarily few and far asunder. Consequently some families had to go an inconvenient distance to church. Nevertheless they went, male and female, old and young, on horses,—some of them ten or even fifteen miles to the house of God regularly on the Lord's day.¹ These were the right sort of people to found a commonwealth that should stand the wear and tear of a hundred ages.

Some of the churches built by the first generation are yet standing, substantial monuments of their pious zeal. They are constructed of the solid, imperishable limestone of the Valley. Others have been replaced by larger and fairer, but less venerable structures of brick. In building some of the primitive stone churches, before roads, wagons, and saw-mills could facilitate the collection and preparation of materials, they had to resort to some rather singular modes of conveyance. The stone lay convenient, the beams of timber could be dragged upon the ground by teams of horses, but sand for mortar could be found only about the beds of rivers that flowed out of the sandstone mountains. The (New) Providence congregation packed all the sand used in the walls of their churches from a place six miles distant, sack by sack, on the backs of horses. And what is now almost incredible, the fair wives and daughters of the congregation undertook this part of the work, while the men labored at the stone and timber. The fact will appear less miraculous when we consider that neither negro-slavery² nor the false refinements of wealth and fashion had yet invaded this land

¹ Many of them both male and female walked ten miles to church, some of them carrying their shoes and stockings under their arms until they reached the last water before arriving at the church. Here they would wash and clothe their feet.—W. H. R.

² The author was an anti-slavery man, as was James McDowell, Samuel McDowell Moore, David E. Moore, and many other of the noblest of the Scotch-Irish as well as of the German and English men of Virginia of that day, but they were slave-holders and not fanatical.—W. H. R.

of green valleys. Let not the great-granddaughters of these women blush for them, however deeply they might blush to be themselves found employed in such rough and useful labor. For ourselves we admire the conduct of these females ; it was not only excusable, not only praiseworthy, it was almost, if not quite heroic. It takes Spartan mothers to rear Spartan men. These were among the women, whose sons and grandsons sustained the confidence of Washington in the most disastrous period of the Revolutionary War. But the times have changed, our free mountain air has become tainted ; the labor of our fields is done in great part by fettered hands ; our manners have become more refined than our morals, and instead of the sturdy but intelligent simplicity that once reigned through all the land, a half savage ignorance has grown up in its nooks and dells, while in the open country a mixed population shows much that is excellent, but upon the whole a failing spirit of energetic industry and enterprise. But let us return to the patriarchal times of this Presbyterian population.

Their social intercourse was chiefly religious. When the Lord's Supper was administered in a church, the services usually began on a Friday and continued four days ; a plurality of ministers was present and the people flocked to the place from all the country round ; those who lived near giving hospitable entertainment to those from a greater distance. It was customary to have two of these sacramental meetings annually in each pastoral charge, one in the spring and one in the autumn. The meetings of the Presbytery, which circulated through the principal churches, drew together a large concourse, and were celebrated as the chief religious festivals of the country.

But except these solemn festivals and the weekly meetings at church, the families of the country had little social intercourse. The young people would sometimes visit their neighbors' houses, or their more distant relations ; and weddings were sometimes attended by considerable parties. Then there was a supper of the best, talking, and sometimes a few innocent country sports ; but as to wine, there was none in the country, and as to dancing it was a prohibited amusement. Nothing was known of the gay amusements common in lower Virginia. Dinner parties, balls, cards, horse-racing, and all such things were either despised as vanities or

loathed as abominations. In this primitive society, there were few, if any, roistering blades, broken-down gentlemen, gamblers, spend-thrifts, or indeed any of the seed of the Cavaliers. Such characters could not flourish among them. Had any of them strayed into this sober-minded community they would have found themselves sadly out of their element, among the seed of the Covenanters, yet staunch for the most part in their hereditary manners and principles, though softened by ages of peaceful liberty. Yet, some of these people did after the first age, become dissipated, idle, merry fellows—for I have seen such of them in my boyhood—but then it was after the Revolutionary War, which corrupted the morals of the whole country, and generally out of the Valley, about the frontiers, where such characters were common.

The education of their children was one of the most important features of domestic policy among the old Presbyterians of the Valley. Common schools arose among them as soon as the state of the population admitted of them. But some considerable time necessarily elapsed before schools of a higher order could be sustained. About the year 1772, thirty-four years after the settlements first began, private teachers are reported to have commenced in two or three places to instruct pupils in the elements of classical learning. But these were transient efforts, and resulted in nothing more than to prepare the way for a permanent academy which was established a few years later, through the agency of the Presbytery.

CHAPTER II.

LIBERTY HALL ACADEMY, INSTITUTED IN 1776, AND LOCATED AT TIMBER RIDGE CHURCH.

The first settlements in Virginia having been made by Englishmen of the Established Church, it was natural that they should desire to have the same sort of religious establishment in their new country. During more than a century, the colony of Virginia was more strictly and exclusively Episcopalian than mother England herself. The few Presbyterians and other dissenters who

had settled in the country had no ecclesiastical organization or ministry.

When at last, about the time when the Eastern end of the Valley began to be settled, Presbyterian and Baptist ministers began to visit the "Ancient Dominion," they had to struggle long and hard before they could obtain toleration east of the Blue Ridge.

In the Valley, the case was different. The first settlers were nearly all Scotch-Irish and German Dissenters and their settlement served as a barrier to protect the East Virginians against the savages and the French, who were then formidable in the West and threatened the frontier. Therefore, the colonial government encouraged the settlement of the Valley by liberal grants of land, and never disturbed the religious freedom of the settlers. Thus it happened that Presbyterian churches began to grow up in the Valley about the same time that ministers of this denomination succeeded in forming others in East Virginia, especially in the counties of Hanover and Prince Edward, where the materials of Presbyterianism were found more plentiful than in other parts of Lower Virginia.

After a sufficient number of churches and pastors had risen, they were constituted into a Presbytery, which was called Hanover, in compliment to the Rev. Samuel Davies, pastor of the church, in Hanover county, and the most eloquent and efficient preacher then in Virginia. Partly through the exertions of Davies and his coadjutors in the East, and partly by the growth of the Presbyterian settlements in the Valley, there was from this time rapid increase of Presbyterianism in Virginia. Almost every year new churches were planted and the number of ministers and communicants was continually multiplying. It may be worth while to mention that the Presbyterian interest in Virginia was strengthened by the accession of some descendants of French Huguenots, who had been driven from their country by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and had settled on the waters of the James River. Being Calvinistic Protestants, they were already Presbyterians.

The formation of the Presbytery and the increase of the churches suggested in a few years the expediency of establishing a seminary of liberal education, to be conducted on Presbyterian principles. William and Mary, the only college in Virginia, was

connected with the Established Church, and Princeton College, the nearest Presbyterian institution of high rank, was too distant to supply the want of a seminary in Virginia.

In the year 1771 the Presbytery made the first record on the subject in the following words :—

“The Presbytery being sensible of the great expediency of a seminary within their bounds, do recommend to all their members to take the matter into their consideration and report their thoughts thereon, at the next meeting, especially respecting the best methods of accomplishing it.”

The first result of this movement was the establishment in Prince Edward County of an academy which was afterwards incorporated as Hampden Sidney College. The location had reference to the general convenience of the Presbyterian population of Virginia and North Carolina. It could not have been better chosen.

But the Presbyterians of the Valley needed an academy among themselves. The Presbytery therefore resolved “to fix a seminary for the education of youth in Staunton.” But they adopted no measure for carrying this resolution into effect until their meeting in October, 1774.

The following extract from their minutes will show what was done at this meeting in relation to the academy.

“The Presbytery resumed the consideration of a public school for the education of youth, judging it to be of great immediate importance. We do therefore agree to establish and patronize a public school, which shall be confined to the county of Augusta.¹ At present it shall be managed by Mr. William Graham, (a gentleman properly recommended to this Presbytery) and to be under the inspection of the Rev. John Brown;² and the Presbytery reserve to themselves, the liberty at a future session more particularly to appoint the person by whom it shall be conducted, and the place where it shall be fixed; which they are

¹ Augusta still included what is now Rockbridge.

² Mr. Brown was pastor of Providence Church in the Northern part of Rockbridge. After his death his family settled in Frankfort, Kentucky. The Hon. James Brown of Louisiana, sometime Minister to France, was his son.

induced to do notwithstanding a former presbyterial appointment (fixing its location at Staunton) because there is no person to take the management in the place first agreed on, and it is uncertain whether there ever will be. In consequence therefore of this ordination, we do recommend it to the several congregations under our jurisdiction, to make such liberal contributions, as they shall find compatible with their circumstances, in order to provide a public library and other apparatus. These donations shall be applied agreeably to the order of Presbytery and for this purpose we do appoint the Rev. Messrs. Brown, Rice, Cummins, Irvine and Wallace and also Mr. Stanhope Smith, probationer, to collect subscriptions in the several congregations annexed to their names, viz.: Mr. Brown in the Pastures, Providence and the North Mountain; Mr. Rice in Botetourt on the South side of James River; Mr. Cummins in Fincastle¹; Mr. Irvine at Tinkling Spring, the Stone Meeting House (now Augusta Church) and Brown's settlement; Mr. Wallace in the forks of James River; and Mr. Smith at pleasure. The subscription papers to be headed as follows:

"We, the subscribers, do promise to pay to the persons above nominated and for the purposes aforesaid, on or before the 25th day of December, 1775, the sums annexed to our names. Dated this 13th day of October, 1774."

At their next spring meeting, in April, 1775, they again recommended the school to the patronage of their congregations, adding that, "as guardians and directors they took the opportunity to declare their resolution to establish it on the most catholic plan that circumstances would permit." As no seminary above the rank of common school had yet been established in the Valley, the Presbytery saw fit on this occasion to declare that they meant not to confine the benefits of the Academy to their own denomination of Christians, but to manage it on such liberal principles that all the country might enjoy the benefits of the institution. They meant, no doubt, as in duty they were bound, to give a religious and moral education to the pupils of their academy; but not to manage it with the sectarian view of making Presbyterians of all who might resort to it.

¹ Not the town so called, but a county which included all Southwestern Virginia beyond the New River, including Kentucky. It lost its name by division into three counties.

As William Graham, above named, was the first rector¹ of the academy, and the principal agent in giving it permanent success, we shall introduce him to the reader by presenting a sketch of his early life.

He was born in Pennsylvania of Irish² parents on the 19th of December, 1746. His father, Michael Graham, resided in Paxton Township, near the place where Harrisburg now stands. Being a farmer of small property, his son William, with the other sons, had to labor on the farm until he was fully grown, with no other schooling than such as commonly fell to the lot of farmers' sons. The family were religiously brought up according to the good old custom of Presbyterians. But William did not seem to have profited by the pious examples and precepts that had been set before him; on the contrary he became passionately fond of riotous amusements,—frolicking and dancing, whenever he had the opportunity. It was not until he was about twenty-one years old that the fruits of his religious education began to appear. He then became the subject of deep religious impressions which resulted in a thorough and permanent change of mind.

Now he became desirous of preparing himself for the ministry of the gospel. But how to obtain the means of pursuing a long course of study was the difficulty. His father could ill spare the necessary funds, and was not disposed to make sacrifices in favor of William's laudable desire. But the piety and love of the mother overcame the difficulties of the father. Her heart was set on seeing her son a minister of the gospel. She pledged her utmost exertions to contribute to his support; she prevailed with her husband, and then told William to go and prosper in his undertaking. Who can estimate the amount of good done in this case, and many

¹ The term Rector, although belonging originally to the head of the academic body, is now applied to the chairman or president of the corporate or governing body, whilst the title President is now given to the former. Historically the Rector of the school was *ex officio* President of the Board of Trustees, and so continued in this institution until about the year 1865. The offices were then separated, and the title Rector was assigned to the trustee who was made chief officer of the Board; and, in fact, it is more at home in the governing than in the teaching body, especially since the teacher has become less magisterial in his style.—W. H. R.

² Scotch-Irish: some say of English origin.—W. H. R.

others, by the pious zeal and resolution of mothers whose hearts, warmed with the sacred end in view, have trusted in Divine Providence for the issue, and have not been disappointed!

He quit the plough and eagerly took hold of the Latin Grammar. He studied first under Mr. Roan, pastor of the church to which the family belonged, and afterwards under a Mr. Finley, eking out his scanty finances by teaching school at intervals as opportunity offered and necessity required, until he was prepared to enter Princeton College.

At college he soon distinguished himself by his talents, his industry and piety. Here he became acquainted with Samuel Stanhope Smith, a fellow student, whose recommendation afterwards brought him to Virginia.

Having completed his college course in about five years after he had begun his Latin Grammar, he returned to his birthplace, and commenced the study of Divinity, under the worthy pastor, Mr. Roan.¹ This pastor, like many others, had to supply the deficiency of his salary by cultivating a farm. But like most studious men he was an awkward farmer, and often got into such perplexity with men, beasts and things in the multifarious operations and accidents of husbandry that he was ready to give up in despair. But whilst his pupil was with him, his affairs were often disentangled by one whose judgment, energy and experience qualified him to solve the knottiest difficulties of husbandry, and who needed this diversion from the intense application to study, which would otherwise have ruined his health.

Mr. Samuel S. Smith whose studies were in advance of Mr. Graham's came to Virginia immediately after he had been licensed by the Presbytery of Newcastle. He came at the time when the Presbytery of Hanover were providing means for the establishment of Hampden Sidney College, of which he became the first president. In the meantime, he travelled extensively through the country as missionary. An elder brother of his, named Ebenezer, had sometime before come from Princeton at the call of the Rev. Jno. Brown, of Providence Church, and had for a while taught a

¹ Mr. Graham graduated at Princeton, in 1773, in the same class with General Henry Lee (Light Horse Harry) and John Blair Smith, President of Hampden Sidney College.—Eds.

classical school in the bounds of Mr. Brown's charge. Thus, a beginning had been made ; but Ebenezer Smith having left the country, his pupils were without a teacher under whom they could pursue the studies which they had begun. When Samuel S. Smith visited the Valley, the young men and their fathers applied to him to recommend them a teacher. He recommended Mr. Graham, first to them, and afterwards to the Presbytery, when they resolved to establish an academy.

At the request of the young men and their fathers he wrote to Mr. Graham and advised him to come on immediately and set up a classical school where his brother, Ebenezer, had taught, assuring him that a good school might be obtained. Mr. Graham obeyed the call. A school was soon made up for him and located where Ebenezer Smith had taught, on an eminence in Timber Ridge about a mile northeast of the present village of Fairfield, in Rockbridge county.

The neighborhood was well settled for a new country ; the air was remarkably salubrious and living was very cheap. The rustic school-house stood in a fine forest of oaks, which cast a shade over it in the summer and supplied it with convenient fuel in the winter. A spring of pure water gushed from the rocks near the house. From underneath the spreading tree-tops the students had a view of the country below, and of the neighboring Blue Ridge. In short, all the features of the place made it a fit habitation for the woodland muse, and the hill deserved its name of Mount Pleasant.

Hither about thirty youths of the Great Valley repaired "to taste of the Pierian Spring," thirty-six years after the first settlement of Burden's Grant, now Rockbridge County. Of reading, writing and ciphering, the boys of the country had before acquired such knowledge as primary schools usually afford ; but with a very few late exceptions, Latin, Greek, Algebra, Geometry and other scholastic mysteries were things of which some of them had heard, and knew, perhaps, to be covered up in the learned heads of their pastors,—but of the nature and uses of which, they had no conception whatever. A large proportion of those who went to Mt. Pleasant Academy were fully grown young men, who had been waiting for opportunity to qualify themselves by academic studies for engaging in professional pursuits. Many settlers in the Valley

found themselves now in easy circumstances. Pastors, physicians and lawyers began to be in demand; and the civil distinction conferred by the learned professions, began to be understood and appreciated by the more intelligent young men.

The establishment of the first permanent school of this order was an important event in the history of the Valley. This school was the germ from which Washington College was ultimately unfolded; and the consequences of its establishment were the diffusion of a literary spirit through the Presbyterian population of the Valley and the rise of a college which is resorted to by students from nearly all parts of Virginia, and by some from other states.

When we consider these results, we need not blush for the humble style of the Mount Pleasant Academy. The building was a log hut of one room. The students carried their dinners with them from their boarding houses in the neighborhood. They conned their lessons, either in the school-room, where the recitations were heard, or under the shade of the forest, where breezes whispered and birds caroled without disturbing their studies. A horn—probably a veritable cow's horn—summoned the school from play, and the scattered classes to recitation. Instead of broadcloth coats, the students generally wore a far more graceful garment, the hunting shirt, home-spun, home-woven, and home-made by the industrious wives and daughters of the land. Their amusements were not less remote from the modern taste of students. Cards, backgammon, flutes, fiddles, and even marbles were scarcely known among these sober forest-boys. Firing pistols and ranging the fields with shot-guns to kill little birds for sport they would have considered a waste of time and ammunition. As for frequenting tippling shops of any denomination—this was impossible, for no such catch-penny lures for students existed in the country, or would have been tolerated. Had any huckster of liquors, nicknacks and explosive crackers opened his *confectionery* in those days the old puritan morality of the land was yet strong enough to abate the nuisance. The sports of the students were mostly gymnastics, both manly and healthful, such as leaping, running, wrestling, pitching quoits and playing ball.

In this rustic seminary a considerable number of young men began their liberal education, who afterwards bore a distinguished

part in the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the country. Among these were Blackburn, Breckenridge, Mitchell, Doak, Montgomery, W. Willson and Priestly.

The late Samuel L. Campbell, M. D., of Rockbridge, published a notice of this school, shortly before his death, in the *Southern Literary Messenger*. He vividly described the impression which its exercises made upon his mind, when once in early boyhood he visited the school. He was particularly struck with the sounds of the Greek verb *τύπτω* (tupto) which a class happened to be reciting to Mr. Graham, when he was present. Of the meaning or use of the exercise, he comprehended nothing. But the sweetly varied sounds of the verb, as the boys uttered their respective parts in turn, were most strange and musical to his ears. The melodious changes rung upon the radical syllable *τύπ-* by means of the various terminations and prefixes, were so multitudinous, and so tuneful to the wondering sense, that he never lost the impression during the sixty years that had elapsed before he wrote the account. He, too, had the happiness afterwards to learn all the mysteries and the melodies of *τύπτω*, yet did this after familiarity never efface the charm of its sonorous variations, infused into his mind, when he first heard them in the shades of Mount Pleasant.¹

While the school was thus going on, partly as a private establishment, yet recognized and patronized by the Presbytery as the germ of their academy, the subscriptions for its benefit proceeded rather slowly. At the meeting of the Presbytery, in April, 1775, they named several laymen in various parts of the country to assist in forwarding the subscriptions.

In October of the same year, they passed an order continuing Mr. Graham as their teacher, and appointing Mr. John Montgomery as his assistant. Mr. Montgomery continued in this office until he was licensed to preach. He afterwards settled in the Pastures, upon the upper branches of the North (James) River, and had charge of the congregations of Lebanon and Rocky Spring. He was an excellent man, and lived at the same place, useful and respected, until he died, at an advanced age.

¹ Dr. Campbell in this article bears emphatic testimony concerning the ability of Mr. Graham as a teacher, as shown by his manner of conducting the classes, and by the proficiency of the students.—W. H. R.

At the same meeting the Presbytery resolved to continue their efforts to obtain subscriptions ; they also appointed collectors of the moneys already subscribed, for the purpose of procuring immediately some books and philosophical apparatus for the use of the school.

The next May, 1776, they met again at Providence church, five or six miles from the academy, and visited the school for the purpose of examining the classes. They expressed a high degree of satisfaction with both teachers and pupils. At the same time Mr. Graham informed the Presbytery that £128 of the subscription moneys had been paid into his hands by the collectors, and that he had purchased in Philadelphia books and scientific apparatus to the amount of £160. The balance was ordered to be paid to him as soon as it should be collected.

The apparatus procured by Mr. Graham consisted of a small reflecting telescope, a pair of twelve-inch globes, a solar microscope, an air pump, an electrical machine with necessary appurtenances, a barometer, a miniature orrery, a Hadley's quadrant and the usual land surveyor's instruments. This was a judicious selection of apparatus.

The books consisted of about two hundred and ninety volumes of all sizes, including some standard works of English literature and of science—the rest theological—some of them useful, others of little account and lying unread, down to this day. On the whole, these purchases were well made, and cheaply, too, for a sum equivalent to \$530, and that, we presume, in the paper currency of the time.

But the time and labor consumed in raising this paltry sum for such an object among a Presbyterian population of eight or ten thousand souls may strike some readers unfavorably. But we should reflect that such an enterprise was entirely new, that the country was new, that most of its inhabitants were yet struggling with the difficulties incident to a new interior settlement, and that their distance from market and the want of roads made money exceedingly scarce. These things being considered, we think that they did well in this case ; though, as always happens among all people, they might have done better.

The Presbytery now found the subscriptions sufficiently advanced to enable them to organize the academy on a permanent foundation, and to fix its site with a view to the erection of suitable buildings.

They appointed Mr. Graham rector, Mr. Montgomery assistant teacher, and the twenty-four gentlemen, named below, as trustees, viz: The Rev. Messrs. John Brown, James Waddell, Charles Cummins, William Irvine and the Rector, *ex-officio*; with Mr. Thomas Lewis, Gen. Andrew Lewis, Col. Wm. Christian, Col. Wm. Fleming, Mr. Thos. Stuart, Mr. Samuel Lyle, Col. Jno. Bowyer, Mr. Jno. Grattan, Col. Wm. Preston, Mr. Sampson Matthews, Maj. Samuel McDowell, Mr. Wm. McPheeters, Capt. Alexander Stuart, Capt. Wm. McKee, Capt. George Moffett, Mr. John Houston, Mr. Charles Campbell, Mr. Wm. Ward and Capt. John Lewis, of the Warm Springs. Seven of these trustees were to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

They were to collect subscriptions and donations, to expend the moneys collected and to conduct all the affairs of the Academy "*on behalf of the Presbytery*," who reserved to themselves the right of visitation, as often as they should judge necessary, and of appointing the rector and his assistants.

The trustees above named were selected for their intelligence and respectability from all parts of the country, west of the Blue Ridge, supposed to be interested in sustaining the Academy. It does not appear from subsequent records that the majority of these gentlemen ever accepted.

Supplementary Note.

A gap in the history occurs here, owing to the loss of four pages of the author's manuscript. The narrative is broken in the midst of the proceedings of Hanover Presbytery, at its meeting at Providence Church, in May, 1776. At this meeting it was determined to accept an offer made by persons residing near Timber Ridge Church, which offer consisted of a donation of eighty acres of land near the church, as a site for the academy, the erection thereon of a hewed log house twenty-eight by twenty-four feet, one story and a half high, besides the money subscriptions, and the probable gratuitous supply of firewood and timber for buildings for twenty years. The offer of land was made by two prominent citizens of Rockbridge County, namely, Samuel Houston (the

father of the eminent General, President and Senator Samuel Houston), and Alexander Stuart, father of Judge Archibald Stuart, and grandfather of Hon. A. H. H. Stuart. These two gentlemen owned lands adjoining each other and close to the church, and they agreed to form a tract of 80 acres, by the contribution of 40 acres each.

A singular difference of opinion exists as to the exact location of this land to which the academy was removed. The original Timber Ridge Church was of wood, and stood on top of the Ridge just at the point where the road from Lexington to Staunton, *via* Fairfield, crosses; indeed it is said that the road passes through the old foundation. This point is about nine miles from Lexington. In 1756 the congregation built the present well known stone church, which is two or three miles nearer to Lexington. A common impression is that the location of Liberty Hall made in 1776 was at the former spot. When a boy, I was shown this place, as the seat of the academy, by one whom I regarded as high authority; and many times since, even by neighborhood people have I heard it designated as the spot. And what is of still more consequence Dr. Foote in his first volume of *Sketches of Virginia* distinctly points out this as the place to which the academy was moved in 1776. See page 452, on which Dr. Foote says:—"The Academy at Timber Ridge was discontinued in 1779. The meeting house near which the academy had been built, was also in due time removed a few miles nearer Lexington, and its ancient site is known only by the old graveyard by the roadside, etc." My life-long impression has accorded with this statement, but recently my attention has been called to evidences in favor of the present stone church as the location of the school. These evidences consist of the fact that the present Timber Ridge Church had been built in 1756, and was the worshipping place of the congregation at the time of the Presbytery's action and had been for many years before. Moreover, Dr. Samuel L. Campbell in his *History of Washington College* and Dr. Archibald Alexander in his *Autobiography* both state that the site to which the academy was removed in 1776 was about seven miles from Lexington, which is the distance to the present stone church. And within the memory of persons now living, a log house answering the description of the academy building was standing near the stone church, and was called Liberty Hall. Also many intelligent friends of the institution who have had opportunities of information confidently assert this to have been the true site. All of which is corroborated by the fact that Samuel Houston lived here, and Alexander Stuart owned land close by. These facts are stronger than

those which can be arrayed in favor of the older site of Timber Ridge Church, and seem to show that Dr. Foote was misled by the erroneous local tradition, which may have confounded the old church site with Mt. Pleasant. There should be no doubt about a matter of this sort, and it can finally be put to rest by the examination of the records of the court.

Returning to the meeting of the Presbytery in 1776, we find that besides appointing a board of twenty-four trustees for the academy, it also appointed an executive committee of eight members of the board, "to have the lands given to the academy measured and bounded and the title secured, and to draw plans and to let the building of such houses as they shall judge necessary for the use of the academy and Rector."

The executive committee, pursuant to the order of the Presbytery, met May 13th, 1776, and at this meeting the name Liberty Hall first appears. In the proceedings of the Presbytery which was in session only the week before, the school is still called Augusta Academy. We are left to surmise as to just when and how the change was made, but as the institution was not then incorporated, probably there was no legal difficulty in the way of a change of name by anybody having official control over the school. And just now there were two reasons why such a change was needed. One was, that the name Augusta was local, and hence not appropriate to the wide career contemplated for the school by its new patrons and controllers. And the other was the approaching creation of Rockbridge county, which would take the school out of Augusta county. This question, however, may have escaped the attention of the Presbytery, whilst it would naturally be forced upon the consideration of the committee appointed to attend to the making of title deeds and the erection of buildings. The members of the committee who were present May 13th, were William Graham, Rector; Alexander Stuart, Samuel Lyle, Charles Campbell, John Houston and William McKee. This band of patriots, as we may reasonably suppose, on the occasion of this first meeting, gave to the newly-organized school the stirring name of Liberty Hall Academy. Most likely the name was suggested by Graham. It was a bold act of defiance, for, up to this time, the British flag floated over the capital of Virginia, and it was nearly two months in advance of the Declaration of Independence. It was the first outburst of the Rockbridge spirit, which, the next year, named the county-seat in honor of the Lexington where was shed the first blood of the Revolution. Who knows but

that the adoption of this name, followed up as it was by patriotic devotion to the end, had a decisive effect on General Washington's mind when considering what he should do with his James River stock!

The executive committee proceeded vigorously with its work. The school building was erected by the Timber Ridge people, according to promise; other buildings were put up by means of contributions, partly obtained from distant places, some even from New England, whither Graham went for the purpose. Dr. Archibald Alexander states this (*Life of Dr. A.*, pp. 15, 16), and says: "Several small neat buildings were erected for the use of the students, and a good house on the New England model was reared for the Rector. Students came in goodly numbers, mostly grown young men."

Hither, early in 1777, came Mr. Graham with his newly married wife (Mary Kerr, of Carlisle, Pa.), his assistant, John Montgomery, and his school library and apparatus. The prospects of the academy were very good for a time, but those "grown young men" were soon wanted for sterner exercises than rolling off the inflections of *τύπτω*, or sounding the depths of Graham's metaphysics. The news of Washington's brilliant fight at Princeton mingled with the first lessons. The thunders of Saratoga soon reverberated among the mountains. The guns of Brandywine and Germantown announced the movement of the war southward. The Scotch-Irish were as one man in support of the war. Dr. Alexander says that there were but two Tories in the country, and they were soon driven off; and he, a boy of eight years in this year of 1777, "frequently saw companies of backwoodsmen with their rifles and brown hunting shirts and deer's tail cockades, passing on to the theatre of conflict." Were these "young men" likely to sit long on those academy benches parsing and figuring? Let the "Liberty Hall Volunteers" of a later date answer this question. Especially when the most enthusiastic patriot in all the country was William Graham, who, as Dr. Foote says, "so far from repressing the spirit of patriotism in his congregations or the young men under his care, by his precepts and example he inflamed them with a more vehement love of liberty."

This was good for the patriot cause but bad for the school, as was notably the case at a later epoch. But the exercises of the academy were continued with many difficulties, and all questions economic and academic were duly considered; among them the old and unending question of the modes of boarding students. Here the interrupted narrative is resumed by the author.—W. H. R.

The price of tuition was fixed at *four pounds* a year, making the total of *ten pounds ten shillings* for the yearly expenses of a student, exclusive of books, clothing and other contingencies. This was but 35 dollars in our federal money, and was paid in a paper currency, already somewhat depreciated. The smallness of the sum is decisive evidence that the necessities of life produced in the country sold at a very low rate, and that the imported commodities, now so largely consumed, were scarcely used at all.

When the trustees met at the opening of the new academy, on the 1st of January, 1777, Mr. Graham accounted to the board for the moneys which he had received for the benefit of the academy. The total sum was £230, of which he had paid out £197 "for books, apparatus and other things." He then paid over the balance in his hands to Samuel Lyle,¹ treasurer of the board. The buildings, when finished, cost—as nearly as we can now form an estimate from facts stated in the records—about £200, exclusive of donations in labor and materials. To this sum add as much more, previously expended in books and apparatus, and it will appear that Liberty Hall Academy was built and furnished for a sum of money equivalent to about 1,400 dollars, besides donations in land, labor and materials, worth perhaps 600 dollars more. The institution then possessed 80 acres of land, 2 houses, a library of 300 volumes and all the most necessary philosophical instruments. There was no chemical apparatus; for as yet chemistry was little studied even in colleges.

This Academy owed its foundation, first, to the enlightened policy and pious zeal of the Presbyterian clergy of the land; secondly, to the contributions of the Presbyterian people of the Valley; thirdly, to the energy and talents of the rector; and lastly, to the attention given to its affairs by a few of the neighboring trustees, and the gratuitous aid in land, labor and materials, given by some members of the Timber Ridge congregation.

¹ The grandfather of Mrs. Henry Ruffner.—W. H. R.

CHAPTER III.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE ACADEMY. IT IS SUSPENDED; THEN
REMOVED AND CHARTERED.

Liberty Hall Academy was founded in troublous times. The Revolutionary war had begun to press heavily on all parts of the country. Taxes necessarily increased. The paper bills issued by Congress and the State government, operated as a tax by their depreciation; militia drafts became more frequent in Virginia as the storm of war approached her borders, and increased in frequency when the territory became her principal seat of war.

The contest being for the liberties of the country, and requiring all its energies and resources, the minds of the people were kept in a state of continual excitement and were consequently withdrawn from the gentle arts of peace. Even the ministers of the Gospel partook of the military spirit, especially the Presbyterian, who suffered their patriotism to abstract their attention from the cure of souls, and to convert the sacred pulpit too often into a "drum ecclesiastic," that they might rouse the military spirit of their congregations in defense of their bleeding country. Under these circumstances the new academy could not flourish. The buildings were not finished until late in the year 1777, although the school had been removed to them at the beginning of the year. The price of provisions was so rapidly enhanced, by the depreciation of the currency, that Mr. Steward Scott soon found it a ruinous business to board students for *six pounds ten* a year. He therefore gave notice that he would resign his stewardship in the fall. No person could be obtained to fill the vacancy, though the trustees raised the price of board to £15 per annum, because the sinking value of the currency made it unsafe to contract at any fixed price. In this emergency the neighboring families actually fed the students for a while out of their own stores, each carrying them provisions in turn and acting as stewards without pay. This continued, perhaps, till the end of the year. Then, as no steward was forthcoming, these generous families agreed to board the students in their houses for the same £15 of depreciated and depreciating paper,—a sum

which no man would accept as steward. But because from *six pound ten to fifteen pounds* seemed to some persons too high a leap in the price, it was agreed between the trustees and the heads of these families,

“that any person who should furnish provisions at the old prices, their board should be at the rate of eight pounds ten shillings per annum. But no person should be at liberty to furnish provisions in less quantity than would be at least half the board last mentioned.”

Should any of our readers be disposed to smile at this *proviso*, we tell them that these small shifts, to accommodate all parties and obviate prejudices and dissatisfaction, were necessary to keep this young literary institution alive under the pressure of the times; and instead of being ridiculed as petty or low, should be rather admired as wise and benevolent. Without this careful and tender nursing, Liberty Hall Academy could not have survived the year of its birth.

In the year 1778, the few trustees who attended to the business of the Academy made an effort to raise additional funds to pay some debts outstanding, and to enlarge the scanty accommodations of the students. They issued subscription papers and requested the Presbytery of Hanover, who had now begun to neglect the Academy, to send one of their number to solicit aid from the northern churches. No great success appears to have attended their measures. Every circumstance of the times was unfavorable. But by these means two or three lodging rooms were attached to the Academy house and a balance of funds was left unexpended.

A petition to the legislature for an act of incorporation was also prepared this year, but if presented it was unsuccessful.

In the year 1779 the times grew worse. Every unfavorable circumstance of the preceding year was aggravated. The invasion of the Southern States by the British caused frequent drafts of the militia. The elder students being enrolled were thus all harassed and in part carried off to the army. The currency reached the lowest stage of depreciation. Consequently, debts contracted in former years, and stated salaries and fees became almost worthless when paid in the current trash. The worthy rector found his fees as teacher and his salary as pastor dwindling to nothing better

than a handful of rags, while his increasing family called for an increasing income. He had purchased a farm seven miles from the Academy, by the newly-founded village of Lexington.¹ He had now to depend for support on the cultivation of this farm, to which, with the consent of the trustees, he removed his family, leaving the Academy in the immediate care of William Willson, his assistant. Mr. Willson was an excellent classical scholar. He could repeat hundreds of lines from Homer without book.² He afterwards became pastor of Augusta Church, where he spent the remainder of his long life.

The rector was still to visit the academy and spend a couple of days weekly in the duties of his office. But an arrangement so inconvenient could not be long continued. He gradually withdrew his attendance, and the students, missing his able instruction and harassed by military duties, began to leave the academy. The dissolution of the school was hastened by Mr. Willson's feeble state of health, so that in the course of the year 1780, the operations of the academy were wholly suspended, and were never resumed at Timber Ridge. Thus in the fourth year of its new existence, this young seminary of learning fainted under the hard pressure of the times; and the buildings provided with such difficulty for its accommodation were scarcely completed before they were abandoned to silence and desolation. But some of the students being anxious to complete their studies, the library and apparatus were removed to Mr. Graham's residence, where he continued to give private instruction.

Among the pupils who thus followed their teacher, were Moses Hoge and Archibald Alexander, whose names are now so venerable.

This private school prevented the extinction of the academy. It was the germ of vitality, which enabled the institution to revive, when the deadly winter had passed away; and to begin new and permanent growth in the long summer of our country's prosperity. While the academy lay in this state of suspended animation, the people of Virginia were more than ever agitated by the alarms of war. Cornwallis, after a victorious career in the South, invaded

¹ Mulberry Hill, it is believed.—W. H. R.

² He told me this himself in his old age. He could even then roll off on his tongue I know not how many verses of the old bard.

our territory, and for a while drove everything before him. The legislature fled from Richmond to Charlottesville, where they hoped to sit in safety. But Tarleton with his legion of light horse made a dash at them from below, and had nearly captured them by surprise. They hastily adjourned to meet in Staunton a few days afterwards. Whilst some of the members dispersed themselves in various directions, a considerable number came directly to the appointed place of meeting. By the way, they spread the alarm of this invasion of the mountains. Heretofore the men of the Valley had gone far away to fight the battles of their country. Now they had the enemy at their doors. It was supposed that Tarleton, having missed his prey at Charlottesville, would follow it up to Staunton; that if he could not capture, he might at least chase the legislators of Virginia, "like partridges in the mountains."

Mr. Graham happened to be riding on his way to Augusta Church, eight miles below Staunton, when he met two members of the legislature in their flight from Charlottesville. He advised them to join him in carrying the alarm to Rockbridge. They took three different routes to Lexington, and on their way roused the whole intermediate country. The militia began to assemble immediately. Mr. Graham's house was one point of rendezvous for those above Lexington. He volunteered to go with them, shouldered his fire-lock, and marched with them to Rockfish Gap, through which the enemy must enter the valley. Here they found the mountain already covered with riflemen watching for Tarleton, whilst other parties were still coming in from the more distant parts of the valley. But no Tarleton appeared. This dashing cavalier wisely returned to headquarters in Richmond. On learning this fact the militia separated; some returned directly home; others continued their march to the lower country. Of these, a few remained with the army until the formidable Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown.

The deliverance of Virginia by the capture of her invaders, gave sure indication that gentle peace would ere long return to bless the land, and that no alarm of war could again disturb the valley. Now, therefore, the trustees began to think of reviving the academy.

Early in the year 1782, it appears that they met and instituted some proceedings for this end. The records of the year are lost, but from those of the next year it is evident they had previously

done two important things ; they had by petition obtained an act of incorporation for the academy, and they had removed its seat to the border of Mr. Graham's farm, near Lexington.

The act of incorporation was passed in October, 1782. It was in everything but the name a college charter ; for besides the usual privileges of incorporated academies, it authorized the institution to confer literary degrees and to appoint *professors*, as well as masters and tutors. It also gave unlimited power to acquire lands and other property for the use of the Academy.

The following are the names of the original trustees, as recited in the charter :

REV. WILLIAM GRAHAM, *Rector*.

X ARTHUR CAMPBELL,	WILLIAM CHRISTIAN,
GEN. <u>ANDREW MOORE</u> , ¹	WILLIAM ALEXANDER, ²
JOSEPH WALKER,	ALEXANDER CAMPBELL,
JOHN WILLSON,	JOHN TRIMBLE,
JOHN HAYS,	GEN. JOHN BOWYER,
MAJ. SAMUEL McDOWELL, ³	GEORGE MOFFETT,
WILLIAM MCKEE,	JAMES MCCORKLE,
SAMUEL LYLE,	ARCHIBALD STUART,
REV. CALEB WALLACE,	REV. JOHN MONTGOMERY,
REV. WILLIAM WILLSON. ⁴	

The removal of the Academy was induced, no doubt, by the fact, that on no other condition could Mr. Graham take any part in its instruction or oversight. He could not quit his farm, which was a sure resource for the support of his family, to resume at Timber Ridge a school that promised only small and precarious emoluments.

The site now chosen for the academy was a grove of oaks, where three farms met. The proprietors, Messrs. Graham, Walker and Alexander, each gave a portion of the ground. There was a

¹ The late Gen. Moore, for some time senator in Congress.

² Father of the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander, of Princeton.

³ Uncle of the late Col. James McDowell, who was father of James McDowell, Esq., late Governor of Virginia.

⁴ I know something of ten of these trustees, all of whom were men of mark, some of them men of great ability and distinction.—W. H. R.

fountain of pure limestone water in a ravine, and an eminence covered with trees, from the shades of which a spectator might view the pleasant scenery of fields and woodlands around, and at a distance the high mountains on either side of the valley.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUGGLES OF THE ACADEMY ; ITS TEMPORARY COALITION WITH THE SYNOD ; ITS NEW BUILDING AND ITS DEBTS.

The first meeting of the trustees, under the charter, was held on the 30th of January, 1783. Seven members would constitute a quorum for business. Eleven were present at this meeting. So full an attendance indicates considerable interest in the members for the revival of the academy.¹

Of the trustees formerly appointed by the Presbytery, a quorum could never be gotten together. Allowance must be made, however, for the fact that the new trustees had corporate powers and the complete control of the academy ; but the first board acted only as agents of the Presbytery, and had not the power of appointing teachers.

By the act of incorporation, the Presbytery lost their control over the academy which they had founded. After the first year or two, they appear to have exercised little or no care over it. During the three following years of suspension they made no effort to revive it, because the times were evil, and also, we presume, because the clergy as well as the laity had, amidst the turmoils of war, almost forgotten the institutions of peace. Pastors, churches, and individuals seem to have become alike indifferent to the fate of the school ; and it was only through the persevering attention and efforts of a few families of Timber Ridge that it had not perished almost immediately after its birth. In fact, religion and morals had sadly

¹The Trustees who attended this meeting and participated in the organization of the corporation were the following, viz.: Rev. William Graham, Rector ; John Bowyer, Andrew Moore, William Alexander, Joseph Walker, Alexander Campbell, John Willson, John Trimble, John Hayes, William McKee, and Samuel Lyle.—EDS.

declined during the struggle for independence. To this we must ascribe the indifference with which the Presbytery and the churches gave up the control and the property of their academy to an independent board. The act of incorporation transferred the lands, buildings, library, and apparatus—worth at least 2,000 dollars—to the new board.

When this board met, as before mentioned, their first act was to adopt a system of rules for themselves and for the academy.

Of the four rules of order which they adopted for themselves, the only one which differs from the common custom of such bodies is, that their meetings were to be always opened and closed with prayer.

The rules adopted for the government of the students were very similar to those of common schools. Few others could be necessary, while the students boarded and lodged in private houses, in the neighborhood, and during the business of the day all met in the single room of the little house in which the school was first kept on its new site.

In the morning the school was opened with prayer at eight or nine o'clock, after which every student was to apply himself silently to his task, and never to go out without permission until dismissed with prayer in the evening. Before dismissal two students in turn were to declaim. A monitor was appointed weekly, to note down and report all violations of the rules. This monitorial office was continued until the year 1837, when it was abolished, because it had gradually and long before degenerated into a mere calling of the roll, with defective returns of the absentees. Students in public schools have for many years been resisting all efforts on the part of their teachers to make use of their agency and information in any way to detect offences against the rules. Now it is an established principle of honor among them, that instead of informing upon one another, they shall use every exertion to screen the disorderly among them from detection and punishment. Thieves and banditti act upon the same principle; but we presume that the students of this age of improvement did not learn it of them.

Two other of these academical laws have become antiquated, namely: that which required the students "to rise and make a

decent bow when the rector, tutor, or any gentlemen should come in or go out," and that which forbade the students to call each other by nicknames.

Such formal marks of respect for their teachers and for one another, would appear very degrading and absurd to a young gentleman of 14 years or upwards in this refined age. Some of them will respond to a "decent bow" from their teachers; but many will not bow in advance, nor will they bow by rule or on compulsion.

We suspect that the rule against nicknames was not well observed, even in the early days of Liberty Hall. The enactment of the rule proves the existence of the immemorial custom of nicknaming among the boys of Rockbridge 62 years ago.¹ Boys are exceedingly tenacious of boyish customs, and this one of nicknaming has been a second nature to them, because it springs from their first nature. The love of distinction and superiority is inherent in man. The imposition of a nickname in token of derision gratifies this feeling. He that can deride another thinks himself so far his superior. Christian benevolence and gentlemanly politeness repudiate such an unbecoming affectation of superiority. But what is a poor boy to do who has neither the one nor the other, nor yet any other quality that gives him a real superiority over his fellows? He must resort to nicknames. And above all how is he to indemnify himself for being subject to the instruction and government of his teachers? Must he submit unavenged to such a mortifying state of inferiority? He can not. He may indeed do himself great credit by a cheerful submission to proper authority and by manifesting a desire for good instruction. But that is not the point; the sense of inferiority in many boys disdains such consolation. What are the remedies? Nicknames and dirty mischievous pranks. Among discreet people such things are considered degrading to the author. But among boys who have not arrived at discretion, among low-bred men, who never will arrive at it, they are deemed evidences of superior genius.² But there are some young

¹ This was written in 1844.

² College students have greatly improved in morals, manners, and habits of study within the last forty-five years. This I say of my own knowledge. I have mentioned this fact to many men of about my own age, such as President McIlwaine

gentlemen whose natural good temper or excellent home education dispose them to abstain from all such ebullitions of boyish pride and resentment.

Not long after the school was opened on its new site, the little house in which it was kept was destroyed by fire, kindled, as circumstances led many to suspect, by an incendiary.

The people of Lexington now made an attempt to get the academy located in or by the village. Its new site was three-fourths of a mile distant. Some conveniences could be obtained by the removal, yet the trustees wisely resolved to retain its beautiful and retired situation. The board took immediate measures to erect a new and better building. At first they resolved that it should be thirty feet long by twenty wide. But, comparing the cost with their scanty funds, they were constrained to reduce the dimensions to twenty-four feet by sixteen. Therefore, this second temple of the muses, like the second temple in Jerusalem, was inferior to the first, the one at Timber Ridge.

Mention has been made of an effort, in the year 1778, to raise funds. Subscription papers were circulated and the presbytery were requested to send one of their members to the north to collect donations. We have no means of ascertaining whether or not it was by order of presbytery that Mr. Graham, not long afterwards, made a northern tour as far as Boston. We infer from the records in 1783 that he collected on this tour the seemingly large sum of 776 pounds 18 shillings, besides his travelling expenses. The academy being soon afterwards suspended, this money remained in Mr. Graham's hands as a loan on interest. The board now appointed a committee to settle the accounts of Mr. Graham, and of Mr. Lyle, the treasurer.

On reducing the paper currency collected by Mr. Graham, by the scale of depreciation (compared with specie) at the date of its collection, the 776 pounds 18 shillings shrunk to the paltry sum

of Hampden Sidney, and they all agree with me. Hence our author's criticisms, whilst historically true, would not apply to the studious and gentlemanly young men who now attend Washington and Lee University. Nicknaming will never be wholly abandoned, and does not always indicate wrong feeling: in fact may express affection. In former times, however, offensive names were sometimes applied by students not only to each other but to their professors. But all social tendencies have been and are in the direction of urbanity.—W. H. R.

of 23 pounds 18 shillings, which is less than one-thirtieth part of the nominal value.¹

The treasurer had also retained on loan the sum of 151 pounds 18 shillings, the unexpended proceeds, we may presume, of the subscriptions of 1778. This, being reduced by the scale, was found to be worth 18 pounds 9 shillings, about one-eighth of the nominal sum, indicating an earlier date of collection than Mr. Graham's; yet it could not have been much more than a year earlier. The paper currency was therefore falling rapidly at this time, and its depreciation must have produced great distress throughout the country.

There are no documents to show when or on what terms the land and buildings at Timber Ridge were sold. As yet the board appear to have derived little aid from this source; and we infer from incidental notices in the record of subsequent years, that this property did not produce much more than 200 pounds.

The trustees resorted to a new subscription for the academy, to defray the cost of the new house. But the people were slow to subscribe, and slow to pay their subscriptions. So little was thus obtained, and so little else was on hand, that the trustees experienced the utmost difficulty in providing the school with any tolerable accommodations.

When the school was first opened under the charter, Mr. Graham declined to take charge of its instruction. The number of students was too small to remunerate him for the labor; and their general character was too bad to induce him to sacrifice his time, labor, and comfort for their instruction. He chose rather to cultivate his farm and to commit the labor and vexation of teaching to tutors under his general superintendence.

The first tutor employed was James Priestly, a young man whom Mr. Graham had taught gratuitously, out of regard for his indigent circumstances and his zeal for learning. Priestly was an indefatigable student, and became afterward distinguished for classical learning, and ability as a teacher of youth. After teaching

¹ No one who observed the difficulties of Washington College during the war period of 1861-65, will feel surprised at the feeble and halting condition of Liberty Hall Academy during the long and dark days of the old Revolution, and the period immediately succeeding it.—W. H. R.

with distinction at Georgetown and Annapolis, he finally settled at Nashville and became the first president of Cumberland College at that place. His eccentricities unfitted him to be the conductor of a college, though he was an excellent classical teacher and could manage a private school.

The board of trustees employed him as tutor at the rate of 80 pounds (specie currency) per annum. He resigned the tutorship in the fall of 1784. Then the board employed Mr. Archibald Roan, perhaps a son of the pastor Roan of Pennsylvania, at an assured salary of 70 pounds, with the contingent addition of 20 pounds more if the tuition fees should be sufficient. The next spring the board allowed him all the fees that might accrue up to 115 pounds per annum; but he could not be induced to continue beyond the next October. Anticipating his resignation, the board authorized Mr. Graham to employ another tutor at the salary first allowed to Mr. Roan. But none could be obtained. As the salary was a good one for a young man in those times of specie currency and cheap living, the history of this tutorship proves that the office was a very disagreeable one, and it must have been such from the bad character of the students.

Since the first establishment of the academy, a number of meritorious young men had completed the course of studies, and might now under the charter receive the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The board therefore resolved, in April 1785, that they would on the second Wednesday of next September hold a public commencement to confer degrees upon those who had merited them. On this occasion the bachelor's degree was conferred upon twelve young gentlemen, to wit: Samuel Blackburn, Moses Hoge, Samuel Houston, John McCue, James Priestly, Adam Rankin, Archibald Roan, William Willson, Samuel Carrick, William McClung, Andrew McClure, and Terah Templin.

We may conjecture that others had completed the course of studies in former years, but were not present to receive the same honor.

Several of these graduates became afterwards well known and useful men in the country.

Gen. Blackburn, of Bath county, lived to a good old age. He was a lawyer and several times a delegate to the General Assembly

of the State. He was distinguished for his eloquence. His wit and his powers of ridicule and sarcasm have seldom been surpassed.

The Rev. Dr. Hoge was distinguished for his learning and his piety, and for the apostolic simplicity of his character and his preaching, which was the product of a lucid understanding and the outpouring of a good heart, and not the less persuasive because it was attended with a natural awkwardness of gesture. He was for many years president of Hampden Sidney College.

The Rev. Samuel Houston was in his early manhood taken to the wars as a drafted militiaman. In the battle of Guilford he carefully loaded his rifle fourteen times, and as often took deliberate aim at the enemy when he fired. He was for many years afterwards pastor of the Falling Spring church, in Rockbridge.

The Rev. John McCue was pastor of the Tinkling Spring church, in Augusta county. He was a good man. When he chose—which was not often—he could tell comic stories in a manner irresistibly ludicrous. Once, in a fit of excitement, he suffered the irascibility of his constitution to get the mastery, for a moment, over his christian equanimity. He and a certain gentleman fell into a dispute which rose to a quarrel, at least on the part of the gentleman, who used provoking language, and at last said, "Sir, if it were not for your parson's coat, I would give you a drubbing." Mr. McCue put his hands down before him, stooped a little, snuffed in a way peculiar to him, and sidling up to the gentleman said, "Never mind the coat, sir; never mind the coat."

Of the other graduates on this list, Messrs. Priestly and Willson have been previously mentioned. We have no certain knowledge of the rest.¹

¹ It is surprising that the learned author knew nothing of the other graduates. They all attained prominent and some distinguished positions either in church or state. William McClung removed from Rockbridge county to Mason county, Kentucky, and rose to distinction at the bar. He was a member of the Virginia Legislature, of the Kentucky House of Representatives, and of the Kentucky Senate, and was Judge of the Circuit Court until his death in 1815.

Archibald Roan was from Dauphin county, Penn., and after serving as Tutor at the Academy removed to Tennessee, where he became a distinguished lawyer. He was Judge of the Supreme Court, Governor of Tennessee, and Judge of the United States District Court until his death in 1814.

Samuel Carrick, Andrew McClure, Adam Rankin, and Terah Templin all entered the Presbyterian ministry. Carrick was from Adams county, Penn.,

For want of a tutor, the academy was now put under the immediate government and instruction of the rector, "with full powers to enact such laws as he might find necessary for the better regulation and morals of the boys, and to provide tutors, as he might find convenient,"—all subject, however, to the revision of the Board.

There were, as before and afterwards, two annual sessions, which were now to terminate regularly on the third Wednesdays of April and October. The vacations were lengthened from three weeks to a month. This arrangement continued until 1833, when the sessions and vacations were reduced to one each.

As to the number of pupils who attended the academy in these times, we have no record, and can only infer, from the amount of salary which the fees produced for the tutors, that the number was as often under as over twenty-five. The tuition fee was still £4 per annum.

Most of the students were "mere boys," as the trustees called them, and some would appear to have come to the academy with a very defective stock of common school acquirements, if we may judge from the fact that the Board at this time received from a Mr. Todd a donation of £10 "for the purpose of providing desks and other things necessary, to have writing taught in the academy."

Mr. Graham now resumed the teacher's office, less from choice than from the necessity of the case. Since the latter years of the war, he had lost much of his zeal for the liberal education of youth. A great change had come over the youth of the country. They were no longer the moral, unsophisticated youth of the ante-revolutionary period in the Valley, where the fashionable vices of the world were scarcely known. Many of these young men of the fields and woods had been taken away to camps and towns, where depraved manners grew familiar to their eyes and corrupted their hearts. They on their return home too easily communicated their acquired knowledge of evil to their young cotemporaries. And

removed to Tennessee, where he became President of Blount College, now East Tennessee University, and died in 1809. McClure was from Augusta county, Rankin from Pennsylvania, and Templin from Bedford county. They all removed to Kentucky, and were useful ministers of the Gospel. Rankin also taught a classical school: McClure died in 1793, Rankin in 1827, and Templin in 1818.—Eds.

now, when young men and boys of the land were collected in a school of liberal education, the rural simplicity and innocent manners of the school of Mount Pleasant were gone; and a generation of profane swearers, card-playing idlers and tippling rioters appeared on the scene,—fellows who scrupled not to steal for the gratification of their appetite; and who took credit to themselves for wit and genius when they played the part of dirty rogues and perpetrated malicious tricks in a workmanlike manner. Happily, some young men were yet left who disdained such vile practices. But the number of those who studied amusement and roguery was so great as to make the teacher's office exceedingly irksome and discouraging. Mr. Graham was wont to say that the intellectual education of such depraved youth was injurious to society, because increase of knowledge with a corrupt heart only adds power to wickedness. He was right; therefore no youth of bad moral character should be admitted into a public school, or if through mistake admitted should be suffered to continue in it to corrupt his associates while there, and afterwards to become a moral pest in society. Mr. Graham's only hope for the country and for the academy was in a revival of religion. He was right again; for not until a revival came, some years later, did the morals of the country and the prospects of the academy take a favorable turn. But the Valley has never recovered, and probably never will recover, the simplicity of its primitive manners.

The trustees not only attended the public examinations of the students, and recorded their judgments of them, but they reserved to themselves the power of dismissing students from the school. There was consequently frequent occasion to call a board for the trial of offenders. On these occasions the history of the case was put on record,—the names of the accused, the acts and words charged, the evidence adduced, and the sentence of the court. We shall here give two extracts from the record, the first to illustrate what we have said respecting the prevalence of evil practices among the students in those times, and the second to show what sort of matter was sometimes put in black and white among the archives of the academy.

The following is from the records of the year 1787, the second year after Mr. Graham resumed his place in the academy.

"The rector informed the board that sundry reports had been circulated, charging the students, at least some of them, with behaving contrary to the rules of the institution, viz.: 1st, that there had been a combination of a number of students to burn the academy; 2nd, that a number of the students had taken a bee-hive from C—— K——; 3rd, that several of them spent a considerable part of their time, the last two sessions, in playing cards; 4th, that they met several times, at night, for the purpose of drinking and frolicking; and 5th, that they were guilty of and practiced profane swearing."

These were the charges, founded on public report. The board on investigation concluded that the first charge had no other foundation than some words spoken in jest. Some of those implicated in the second charge afterwards confessed that they were of the party of rogues who stole the bee-hive. The other practices charged were all proved to be more or less prevalent among the students. The board therefore resolved to punish all who might be convicted of such offences, and enjoined upon the rector to call a meeting of the trustees whenever he had grounds to suspect that any had been guilty of them and he thought the aid of the board necessary or expedient.

In April, 1794, a meeting of the board was called to try a student for misbehavior. The following is a literal transcript of the record, except that only the initials of the persons' names are given:

"The rector informed the board that he had convened them to hear, investigate and determine respecting certain complaints against A—— M——, one of the students of the academy.

"1. That he bantered T—— L—— out to kick him. That he kicked E—— G——, and that he said he would kick some of the boys, and them that he was not able to kick, he would hold a pistol in his hand and kick them.

"2. That he said he could prove J—— G—— to be a negro-headed blaggard rascal. That he came to his room window, and told him that a negro was his father and that he had the disposition of a negro. Also for telling J—— G—— that he would hate it if he would hold a pistol in one hand and cowhide him with the other.

"3. That he would let people know that he was the Devil according to his Magnitude.

"4. That he (said M——) had profanely sworn.

"5. For saying that J—— G—— had a head like a negro, and that the devil would be scared at him, and in a ridiculing manner saying he would fly at him like a Devil and carry him off to Hell.

"The said charges were substantially both acknowledged by said M—— and proved by witnesses.

"The board maturely considered the above particulars, and then the question was put, Seeing by his own declaration, and the general voice of the board, he should be censured; what is the censure should be inflicted upon him?

"And the board unanimously answered that he should be expelled, because he had been last session publicly censured for some of the same crimes, in as high a degree as the laws admit, except expulsion, and because during this session without amendment he had been dealt with in as strict a manner as possible by the rector; and because the nature of the present charges are heinous and aggravated.

"On motion the board ordered the rector to execute the above censure, and to enjoin it solemnly upon the students to strictly observe the laws of the academy; also that they should not keep company with A—— M—— upon pain of censure."

Neither in matter nor in style are the records generally so *curious* as the extract just given. We think that the culprit whose case we have presented scarcely deserved to be tried with such solemn formality, or to have his vulgarities perpetuated on the records of the Institution, but finding them there, we give them, as an illustration of the academical history of the time.¹

The board in those days not only exercised jurisdiction in the trial of offenders for such high crimes and misdemeanors as might deserve expulsion; they also received complaints from students against the rector.

A case of this sort occurred in the year 1787. A student in a written complaint charged the rector with having told him that he was nearer the gallows than he expected; that he (the rector) could not believe any fellow that had agreed to perjure himself; had refused him the use of the library, and told him that he should not return to the academy, which the student considered as an act of expulsion and therefore a usurpation of power.

¹ Dr. Archibald Alexander, who was one of the students at this period, in his autobiography speaks of having been surrounded by evil companions. "The school became exceedingly corrupt."—W. H. R.

The rector admitted that he had spoken the words charged in the complaint ; but denied that he had expelled the student. The board expressed their disapprobation of the language used by the rector, as not justified by the conduct of the student, however idle and disorderly he may have been.

The rector, like most energetic men, was subject to strong impulses of feeling, and often, when excited, used language too violent for the occasion.

Mr. Graham, after he resumed the office of teacher in the academy, continued with few intermissions in the full discharge of the duties of his office until he resigned it finally.

The school seems to have increased after he took the immediate charge of it ; so that, after a while, the new house built in 1784 became insufficient in every respect to accommodate the school. The country had begun to recover from the effects of the war, and the education of youth began to excite more general attention. Religion also began to revive, at first gradually, and then, in the year 1789, with stronger manifestations of Divine influence. This awakened among the clergy and the churches a renewed desire to promote the education of pious young men for the ministry.

Soon afterwards the board began to devise plans for the erection of a larger academy building ; but for want of funds they were unable to do anything, until the Synod of Virginia (lately formed by the division of the Hanover presbytery) broached a system of religious education and the plan of a theological seminary, to be connected with Hampden Sidney College, or with Liberty Hall Academy.

The sole resource for funds was a new subscription. This would probably have availed little if the scheme of a theological seminary had not stimulated the people to subscribe with the view of securing its location at the academy. In April, 1793, the sum subscribed was, in the opinion of the board, sufficient to justify immediate preparations to erect a house of respectable size. The first plan was to make it thirty feet by twenty-four in the clear and three stories high. The unexpected amount subscribed, and the contemplated theological department, induced them to enlarge the plan. The house was to be of stone, thirty-eight feet by thirty in the clear, and three stories high, containing twelve rooms nearly fifteen feet square.

Now the people of Lexington made another attempt to bring the academy to the town. The increase of the village enabled them on this occasion to exert considerable influence over the board. The question was strenuously debated, but the majority still adhered to their wise determination to retain the quiet rural site, where the temptations to idleness and vice were less than they are in a town.¹

In the spring of this year (1793) materials for the house were contracted for; and in the month of August, William Cravens, a stonemason of Rockingham county, was employed to build the house. He carried on the work with such vigor that the building was finished and ready for delivery by the ensuing Christmas. He also finished, by the same time, a steward's house, with its appurtenances. The substantial quality of his masonry is apparent to this day in the ruins of the building yet in part standing firm forty-five years after the wooden materials were consumed by fire.²

We cannot forbear to say a few things in commemoration of this builder of Liberty Hall Academy. He was a compact, thick-set man, of coarse features and great muscular strength, which he was fond of exercising, when a young man, in pugilistic combats. It was probably in one of these that he lost an eye. He afterwards became a local preacher in the Methodist church. He had a keen insight of human character, and no less energy, though perhaps less skill, in building up the church than he had in building stone walls. He was an honest mechanic, a bold and honest preacher, in every sense an honest man, though as rough as the rock on which he exercised his hammer. He could not look with silence upon any sort of dishonesty in other men, especially if they were

¹ Dr. Alexander, after remarking on the almost desperate condition of morals and religion in the country, tells of an old soldier who acquired a house in Lexington in 1789, and "here collected all the vagrants in the country, and a drunken bout would be kept up for weeks." There were but few earnestly religious people in the land, and they were dreaded and hated by the wildest of the people. It was this state of society, especially in the village of Lexington, which inclined the authorities of the academy to keep the school as secluded as possible.—W. H. R.

² These ruins are still prominent in one of the fields of the Mulberry Hill farm, three-quarters of a mile northwest of Lexington: an ideal spot for a large university, but not so convenient as the present beautiful site.—W. H. R.

members of his own church. As a sample of rough, home-spun wit, we give the following anecdote.¹

A neighbor of his joined the church to which he usually preached. Cravens, like most of his brethren in former times, was strongly opposed to slavery. He therefore told the new convert that he ought to liberate a slave that he had, named Ben; and easily prevailed on him to give a promise to that effect. Weeks and months passed away, but Ben was not liberated. Cravens the meanwhile said not a word more to his convert about the matter, intending to wait, and if the promise was not fulfilled to administer a rebuke that should be felt. Presently a religious excitement arose in the church and Ben's master was one of the most excited. Still Ben was not liberated. One night after sermon in the church, Cravens, who was in the pulpit, observed his convert to be much excited, and with others leaping and shouting and clapping his hands. He left the pulpit, walked up to his enraptured brother, took him by his hands and began to exercise with him. "Leap higher," said Cravens, "leap with all your might." The lofty springs of this pair soon drew the attention of the whole assembly. This was what Cravens wanted. He stopped their exercise, clapped his convert approvingly on the back, and said, "Well done, brother, well done! I did not think you could jump so high, *with Ben upon your back.*"

While the trustees were endeavoring to fit their academy for obtaining the theological school and the patronage of the Synod, the friends of Hampden Sidney on their part adopted a scheme which threatened Liberty Hall with disastrous consequences. They proposed that the theological seminary should be connected with their college, and that Mr. Graham should be called to preside over both. When the trustees of the academy heard of this scheme, they sent John Willson, one of their body, to present a petition to the Synod at their meeting in October 1792. In this petition² they urged many reasons against the transfer of Mr. Graham to Hampden Sidney, and in favor of their academy as a suitable place for the theological school.

¹ Told me by a Presbyterian minister, formerly resident in Harrisonburg.

² A copy of this petition, I found among papers left by Dr. J. W. Paine, and filed. See "No. 14."—J. Fuller.

The Synod had at their last session, the preceding year, adopted a general plan of education, literary and theological, with the view of training young men for the ministry; and wheresoever their seminary should be located, this plan was to be pursued. In relation to this the trustees expressed themselves in their petition as follows:

“We have maturely considered the plan proposed by the Synod last year, and we are so highly pleased with its principles and design, that we have adopted its part relative to education, and as far, or nearly so, of the rest as coincided with our act of incorporation. But as it appears that the Synod had not a direct view to our legal constitution, and therefore that some things in this plan are not consistent with it; we therefore wish the Synod to review their plan and to make such alterations in it as will make it agree with the law, which will be laid before you for that purpose. And on such alterations being made, we shall be happy in applying our library, which consists of about 300 well chosen volumes, many of them large ones, and our mathematical and philosophical apparatus, which is nearly complete, and other property, which consists of lands, bonds¹ and buildings of considerable value, belonging to our academy, to promote the pious and well concerted design proposed by the Synod for training young men to preach the everlasting gospel.”

The Synod left it to Mr. Graham to choose whether he would remove to Hampden Sidney or remain at Liberty Hall. When he chose the latter, they determined to accept the offer expressed in the foregoing extract.

The general terms of this coalition were, that the board of trustees should endeavor to fill up vacancies in their body, chiefly with members of the presbyteries of Hanover and Lexington; that these presbyteries or their representatives might attend with the board on the examination of the students; and that the mode of education should be peculiarly adapted to the education of youth for the ministry of the gospel. On these terms the Synod engaged to patronize the academy.

This arrangement excited great hopes for the academy, in the most of its friends, but gave offence to some, because of its sectarian

¹ I know not what bonds they could mean, except those given by the purchaser of the property at Timber Ridge.

character, and the apprehension that it would gradually fill the board of trustees with presbyterian clergymen and put the academy entirely into the hands of the Synod. But neither the hopes of the one party nor the fears of the other were realized. The measure, no doubt, gave a temporary impulse to the exertions to raise funds and provide convenient buildings for the academy, and the number of students was somewhat increased by synodical patronage. Some members of the Lexington presbytery attended a few of the semi-annual examinations of the students ; some young men studied theology under Mr. Graham, and for a while the general exercises of the academy had more of a religious character than before. But the zeal of the Synod and of its presbyteries for theological education declined with the religious excitement that had produced it ; the theological character of the school soon began to wear away, and in three or four years the arrangement was silently dropped without producing any permanent change in the school or its board of trustees. But it gave the first impulse to those charges of sectarianism against the institution which continued long to pursue its career and to operate injuriously upon its interests. From the year 1793 the academy, with its enlarged accommodations and the patronage of the Synod, began to assume a more respectable standing, and went on with an increased number of students, and an improved state of morals, due chiefly to the late revival of religion in the country and the influence of the pious young men who were studying for the gospel ministry.

From the year 1785 to 1793 no academical commencement appears to have been held, for the reason probably that very few students had in the meantime merited academical honors. In the latter of these years a Mr. Freeman was honored with the bachelor's degree, but without any public formality. From the record of his examination it appears that, besides the Latin and Greek languages, the following branches of science were then taught in the academy, viz. : Arithmetic, Algebra, Geography, Logic, Criticism and Rhetoric, Euclid's plane Trigonometry, Navigation, (superficially of course), and Land Surveying. Natural Philosophy is omitted in the record, but was doubtless a part of the course. No text-books are named in the record. But we have reason to believe that most of these branches of learning were more

imperfectly taught than they are now in the better sort of schools. The mathematics were taught out of old English text-books, in which (except Euclid) the theory of the science was not explained. The course of classical studies was also less thorough than is customary now; yet we know that some excellent classical scholars were made under Mr. Graham's instruction.

For a number of years afterwards the imperfect and mutilated records make no mention of graduates; yet it must have been before the year 1790 that the Rev. Dr. Alexander of Princeton (the oldest living alumnus of the institution) obtained his degree at an early age. Others were probably graduated not long after the same time, whose names are not upon record. When the new buildings were finished, a steward was employed to board the students. The first steward here was Mr. Edward Graham, a younger brother of the rector, and at a later period professor of Natural Philosophy in Washington College.¹

It may not be uninteresting to mention the quality and price of the diet furnished to the students at this period—the year 1794.

The prescribed bill of fare was: for breakfast, coffee, tea, or chocolate, with butter and bread; for dinner, one course of bread and meat (beef, pork, or bacon), with suitable sauce of vegetables; for supper, bread, butter, and milk, all to be of good quality and well prepared. Excellent fare for students; but too plain to be acceptable in these luxurious days, when many students complain if they are not permitted to fare sumptuously every day. High living in a literary institution is in all respects objectionable. It is costly; it injures the health; it obfuscates the intellect; and it induces habits of sensual indulgence, the ill consequences of which are felt through life. For the plain, wholesome fare allowed to the students of Liberty Hall, they were now to pay £7, equivalent to 23½ dollars, per session of five months, about half the customary price of board in these days; and for this sum the steward was also to have their rooms cleaned and their beds made.

These terms were predicated on the prices of provisions, which are stated in the record to have been: 58 cents a bushel for wheat,

¹ Mr. Edward Graham married a sister of Dr. Archibald Alexander and left a family of uncommon talents, whose descendants are still in Lexington.—W. H. R.

50 cents for rye, 42 cents for corn, $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars a cwt. for beef, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ dollars for pork. These prices are not upon the whole more than 20 or 25 per cent. lower than the present prices for the same articles. It is remarkable that corn has scarcely risen at all since that period.¹

Six months afterwards, namely, in October, 1794, a small rise in the price of provisions induced the trustees to add 10 shillings per session to the price of boarding, and they permitted the steward to take away the butter from the supper table, leaving the votaries of learning to satisfy their hunger with simple bread and milk—more we suspect for the good of their health than to the gratification of their desires. He was also exonerated from the duty of attending to the students' rooms. He was before required to have them swept only twice a week. We may doubt whether they were afterwards swept even once a week.

The price of board was again raised in 1796 to 10 pounds 12 shillings per session, that is, about 50 per cent. above the rate allowed three years before, it having been found that not only had the price of provisions risen somewhat, but that the profits of the steward were too small to induce a competent man to continue in the office, Mr. Graham having resigned after a trial of two years.

When the new building was finished the price of tuition was raised from four to five pounds per annum, and the room rent of the student was fixed at half a dollar a session for each student, unless five or more were crowded into a room, then they paid two dollars among them.

The board of trustees, having incurred considerable debts by the erection of the new buildings, applied to the legislature to vest in them the title to certain escheated land in Rockbridge and the adjacent counties, and to authorize the board to raise money by lottery. But this attempt, like all others to obtain aid from the government, was fruitless.

For want of other means, the trustees were obliged to pay some considerable debts by advancing the money out of their own

¹ Corn in 1888 and 1889 is about the same price it was in 1794, though generally it has been 50 cents and sometimes 75 cents. Wheat is now only 17 cents higher than in 1794. Rye is worth just the same. Beef and pork, though lower now than they have been for half a century, are still much higher than they were a century ago.—W. H. R.

pockets. A bond to Mr. John Donohoo for £200 was discharged in this way by fifteen of the trustees. Without this liberality on their part the academy would have been broken up by the levying of an execution upon its movable property. A similar act of liberality is recorded of some of the old trustees in the year 1779. The small number of them who had taken an active part in the affairs of the academy advanced each £50 in the currency of the time, to make some necessary additions to the buildings.

The institution was now, in 1795, exceedingly embarrassed for want of means to pay its debts and to improve its condition.

Influenced by the necessity of the case and the hoped-for patronage of the Synod, the trustees had undertaken the new buildings with very inadequate means. The subscriptions set on foot for this object fell short of their expectations, and in many instances were slowly paid. We have in the records no information of either the amount subscribed or the cost of the buildings. A committee estimated that a building about two-thirds of the dimensions of the one erected would cost about £286. As estimates in such cases usually fall short of the actual cost, we may infer that the new academy house cost 500 or 600 pounds. Such a house would now cost 2500 or 3000 dollars. The steward's house and its appurtenances must have swelled the whole cost to a sum little short of 800 pounds.

In this distressed condition of the academy, the trustees knew not whither to turn for aid. The creditors were pressing for their money. All had been done that could be done by calling on the people for subscriptions. An appeal had been made to the Legislature in vain. Yet in October, 1795, the board, being of opinion that "some aid from the public was necessary to prevent the academy from sinking into a useless condition," resolved once more to try the effect of a petition to the Legislature, and charged a committee with the duty of preparing it.

Just then they were saved the mortification of another Legislative refusal, by the unexpected opening of a new and more hopeful prospect.

CHAPTER V.

THE DONATION OF GENERAL WASHINGTON AND THE RESIGNATION OF MR. GRAHAM.

In January, 1796, the rector called a meeting of the trustees "to take into consideration some information that he had received that the legislature of Virginia had resolved that there should be a seminary in the upper part of the state, and that the president of the United States was about to bestow his 100 shares in the James River Company to aid in endowing the same."

The facts of the case were these: Early in the year 1784 the legislature of Virginia incorporated the first company to improve the navigation of the James River, and in October of the same year a similar company for the Potomac. Immediately afterwards they passed an act authorizing the state treasurer to subscribe on state account 100 additional shares in the former and 50 in the latter company, "the said shares to be vested in George Washington, his heirs and assigns forever."

This donation was not intended by the legislature to be committed to General Washington as a trust fund, for any public or benevolent object, but was simply a gift for his personal benefit, "out of the desire of the representatives of this commonwealth (as they said in the preamble of the act) to embrace every suitable occasion of testifying their sense of the unexampled merits of George Washington, Esquire, towards his country; and it is their wish in particular, that these great works for its improvement, which, both as springing from the liberty which he has been so instrumental in establishing, and as encouraged by his patronage, will be durable monuments of his glory, may be made monuments also of the gratitude of his country."

When a copy of this act was communicated to General Washington, he wrote to the Governor, declining to accept the donation, as intended by the Legislature, for his private emolument, whilst he expressed his "profound and grateful acknowledgments, inspired by so signal a mark of their beneficent intentions towards himself."

The reason assigned for declining the donation is thus expressed in his letter:

“When I was called to the station with which I was honored, during the late conflict for our liberties,—to the diffidence which I had so many reasons to feel in accepting it, I thought it my duty to join a firm resolution, to shut my hand against every pecuniary recompense; to this resolution I have invariably adhered; from this resolution, (if I had the inclination), I do not feel at liberty to depart. But if it should please the General Assembly to permit me to turn the destination of the fund vested in me from my private emolument to objects of a public nature, it will be my study, in selecting these, to prove the sincerity of my gratitude for the honor conferred on me, by preferring such as may appear most subservient to the enlightened and patriotic views of the Legislature.”

The General Assembly, at their next meeting in October, 1785, in compliance with this request, which they could not decently refuse, repealed the former act, and in its stead enacted, that the said shares, with the tolls and profits thereafter accruing from them, should stand appropriated to such objects of a public nature, in such manner, and under such distributions, as the said George Washington, Esquire, by deed during his life or by his last will and testament, should direct and appoint.

From this authentic statement it is evident, that whilst the legislature deserves credit for its just and good intentions towards General Washington, to him and to him only are to be ascribed whatever public benefits have accrued, or shall hereafter accrue, from this fund.

During ten years, while the works were unfinished and the trade small, the stock of the James River Company was unproductive. Therefore General Washington thought proper to defer the appropriation of his hundred shares, until it should appear whether any profits were likely to accrue from them. When at last they promised ere long to become productive, he turned his attention to the proper disposal of them. Having been for years absent from the State and occupied with the duties of the Presidency, he seems to have felt some diffidence in acting upon his own judgment in the case; at least he thought fit to request the Legislature to designate the object of his donation. They referred the designation back to himself, with the recommendation, that if he thought proper he should endow with these shares some seminary

of learning in the upper country, at whatever place he might think most convenient for the general accommodation of the inhabitants. The legislature was induced to make this recommendation by the consideration, probably, that the lower country had been sufficiently provided with academies and colleges, one of which, William and Mary, had been richly endowed by the colonial government ; while, as yet, nothing of this sort had been done for the growing population on the western side of the Blue Ridge.

President Washington was thus left to decide upon the object of his bounty, with the recommendation that if he thought proper he should endow with those shares some seminary of learning in the "upper country," which might be considered as including all the country in or near the mountains. On being informed of this, General Andrew Moore of Rockbridge and General Francis Preston of Washington county, who were then representatives in Congress from Western Virginia, called the attention of the illustrious patron of learning to Liberty Hall Academy as a suitable object of his donation, and then General Moore wrote to the rector, Mr. Graham, suggesting that they should apply to General Washington for the donation.

When Mr. Graham received the information he promptly called a meeting of the trustees to act upon the information he had received. They seized the happy occasion to promote the interests of their academy, now standing in jeopardy for the want of means to discharge its debts. They prepared and forwarded an address to President Washington in Philadelphia. They stated the claims of their institution to his favorable regard in designating the place and the object of his donation. They gave him a sketch of its history and pointed out the convenience of its situation and the extent of its present means for the education of youth. They stated that the buildings were capable of accommodating between 40 and 50 students, and that the whole property of the academy, without deducting its debts, we presume, was worth nearly 2,000 pounds.

Mr. Graham, though about to resign his office, aided with much zeal in the preparation of this address. Further to promote its object he drew a manuscript map of upper Virginia and sent it with the address, that the illustrious donor might see at a glance

the central situation of Liberty Hall in relation to the country which the institution to be endowed was to accommodate.

The reasons assigned by the trustees were good and therefore prevailed. In September, 1796, the Father of his Country officially communicated to Robert Brooke, governor of Virginia, his decision in favor of Liberty Hall Academy.¹ The donation was subsequently confirmed by a deed of conveyance. The par value of the 100 shares was twenty thousand dollars. His shares of Potomac stock were given to the Leesburg Academy.

Thus Liberty Hall Academy, after a precarious and struggling existence of twenty years, at length acquired the assurance of future means to discharge its debts and to increase its usefulness as a seminary of learning. Several years of embarrassment elapsed, however, before anything but good hopes resulted from this donation. When the trustees, after much delay, obtained official notice of the donation, they addressed the following letter of acknowledgment to the illustrious patron of the academy :

" Sir,—

" It was not earlier than September, 1797, that we were officially informed of your liberal donation to Liberty Hall Academy.

Permit us, as its immediate guardians, to perform the pleasing duty of expressing those sentiments of gratitude which so generous an act naturally inspires. We have long been sensible of the disadvantages to which literary institutions are necessarily subjected whilst dependent on precarious funds for their support. Reflecting particularly on the many difficulties through which this seminary has been conducted since the first moments of its existence, we cannot but be greatly affected by an event which secures to it a permanent and independent establishment. Convinced, as we are, that public prosperity and security are intimately connected with the diffusion of knowledge, we look around with the highest satisfaction on its rapid advances in these United States ; unfeignedly rejoicing that the citizen who has long been

¹ General Washington, when considering what disposition he should make of his James River stock, had before him the towns of Staunton, Lexington, and Fincastle in the "upper country." He selected Lexington because a seminary had already been established there, while nothing had been done at either of the other places. He said that he preferred aiding those who had already aided themselves, rather than those who needed to be stimulated by his donation to do something for themselves.—Eds.

distinguished as the asserter of the liberties of his country, adds to this illustrious character the no less illustrious one, of Patron of the Arts and Literature. And we trust that no effort will be wanting on our part to encourage whatever branches of knowledge may be of general utility.

"That you may long enjoy, besides the uninterrupted blessings of health and repose, the superior happiness which none but those who deserve it can enjoy, and which arises from the reflection of having virtuously and eminently promoted the best interests of mankind, is the fervent prayer of the trustees of Washington Academy, late Liberty Hall.

"By order of the Board,
SAMUEL HOUSTON, *Clerk.*"

"His Excellency,
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
Late President of the United States."

To which General Washington returned the following answer, the autograph of which is carefully preserved in Washington College.

"MOUNT VERNON, *June 17th, 1798.*

"Gentlemen,—

"Unaccountable as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that the address with which you were pleased to honor me, dated the 12th of April, never came to my hands until the 14th instant.

"To promote literature in this rising empire, and to encourage the arts, have ever been amongst the warmest wishes of my heart. And if the donation, which the generosity of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia has enabled me to bestow on Liberty Hall, now by your politeness called Washington Academy, is likely to prove a means to accomplish these ends, it will contribute to the gratification of my desires.

"Sentiments like those which have flowed from your pen excite my gratitude, whilst I offer my best vows for the prosperity of the academy and for the honor and happiness of those under whose auspices it is conducted.

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"*Trustees of Washington Academy.*"¹

¹At the time this donation was made the stock was real estate and passed by deed. The trustees prepared a deed, and sent it by the late James Gold, then a merchant of Lexington, who was on his way to Philadelphia to buy goods. He

Cotemporaneously with the acquisition of this permanent fund, the academy lost the services of its rector, who had for the space of twenty years conducted the infant seminary through all its trials, and kept it alive until he saw it placed on a stable foundation.

Mr. Graham had meditated the removal of his family to the West before General Washington's donation was anticipated. In the autumn of the year 1795 he made a tour to Kentucky, with the view of selecting a new abode. On passing down the Valley of the Kanawha, he was struck with admiration at the fertility and beauty of its low grounds. On the Ohio, he was charmed with the same sort of country on a larger scale. Though in the progress of his journey he saw the beautiful uplands in the interior of Kentucky, he still preferred the banks of the great rivers, where an equal fertility of soil was united with the advantages of navigation and the magnificence of water scenery.

When he arrived at Point Pleasant on his way out, he was informed that a fine tract of land, containing six thousand acres, mostly low grounds lying on the Virginia side of the Ohio at Letart's Falls, was offered for sale on very moderate terms. The next March he concluded a contract with the owners in Alexandria on terms which he considered highly advantageous; and immediately began to make arrangements for the sale of his property in Rockbridge and the removal of his family to their new home on the Ohio.

These things occupied so much of his time, that he could give little attention to his family, or to the academy during the last year of his rectorship. Having completed his preparations for removal, he addressed the following letter of resignation to the board :

went by Mount Vernon and presented it to General Washington, who on reading it and observing that it was with *general* warranty took up his pen and struck out the word *general* and inserted *special*, remarking that as he was giving the stock the Trustees ought to be satisfied with a deed with special warranty. The deed was executed and recorded in the Auditor's office, but the book in which it was recorded is missing from the office. General Washington by his will dated July 9, 1799, confirmed the gift by the following provision: "Item. The hundred shares which I hold in the James River Company I have given and now confirm in perpetuity to and for the use and benefit of Liberty Hall Academy in the County of Rockbridge in the Commonwealth of Virginia."—Eds.

" September 25th, 1796.

" Gentlemen,—

"After long and solemn deliberation I have been compelled to come to the resolution of relinquishing the care of that infant seminary which I have so long endeavored to cherish.

"After 22 years of anxious toil, it would have been one of the happiest events of my life to have seen the seminary in a condition of permanent and extensive usefulness and to have aided in its prosperity. But the impracticability of acquiring the conveniences or even the necessities of life for myself and my family, whilst my time was spent in discharge of the necessary duties of an office which brought me no return, has induced me to resign my office and title of rector of Liberty Hall.

"That you gentlemen may be more abundantly successful in your future efforts is the desire and prayer of your humble servant,

" WILLIAM GRAHAM."

Some time after the receipt of this letter the board prepared the following address to Mr. Graham :

" Dear Sir,—

"At a meeting in October, 1796, we received your resignation. Your absence then prevented any reply. The reasons you assigned, we acknowledge are weighty. We could not, however, help lamenting the hard necessity that deprived us of our rector, whilst, at the same time, as was natural, we felt emotions of gratitude and esteem.

"We have long been convinced that much time, pains and expense are requisite to fit men for literary occupations; that the business of education is extremely irksome and therefore that generous encouragement should be given to those who undertake employments of this sort. We hoped, ere now, to have been able to reward liberally the officers of the academy. But a variety of causes have contributed to render our exertions in a great measure vain. However, notwithstanding the embarrassed state of our affairs, we have been happy in seeing this seminary for many years eminently useful in diffusing knowledge and thereby subserving the general interests of literature and piety. This we attribute, under Providence, to your distinguished talents, and that steady, disinterested zeal which you have uniformly discovered for the prosperity of the academy. And though pecuniary compensation has been wanting, yet believe you have the grateful esteem of every good

man, and the approbation of Him who knows all our ways. That He may go with you through the remainder of life, that His wisdom may direct, and His Providence guard you, that every blessing may attend you and your family, is the sincere prayer of the trustees of Liberty Hall.

“SAMUEL HOUSTON, *Chairman.*

“REV. WILLIAM GRAHAM.

“*April 20th, 1797.*”

Shortly after his resignation Mr. Graham removed his family to their new residence on the Ohio. When he purchased the large tract of land before mentioned, his imagination was fired with the scheme of settling a colony there of pious and intelligent people who should make the wilderness blossom as the rose, and who should lead an innocent and peaceful life in the midst of social enjoyments. His too sanguine expectations were doomed to bitter disappointment in every particular.

He acted incautiously in making the purchase. He had not sufficiently viewed the land, nor ascertained its boundaries. Too late he discovered that a large portion of it consisted of poor hills of no present value. The conditions of the purchase were also hazardous to a man of his deficient means. Payment was to be made in large instalments, and in case of failure in meeting any of them his title was liable to forfeiture.

His ability to make the payments depended on his success in selling both his Rockbridge farm and parcels of his new purchase.

His scheme of settling only choice colonists on the land failed entirely : he could not get a single neighbor or acquaintance to join him in his new Arcadia. Necessity compelled him to sell parcels of the land to the first competent buyers, and these were neither gentle shepherds nor pious Presbyterians. He was therefore without a field of usefulness as a preacher, and his family had neither agreeable society nor a school for the younger children.

Last and worst of all : having failed to make prompt payment of an instalment, he was sued for the recovery of the land, and had to attend court away in Fairfax county, where the suit was brought. When afterwards he had raised a sufficient sum to make the payment, and tendered it to the creditors, they refused to receive it, or to dismiss the suit. They had gotten the advantage of

him and would not relinquish it. He left the money in the hands of a friend in Alexandria, to be paid in case the suit terminated in his favor. This friend lent the money on interest. The borrower proved insolvent and the money was lost. During two years and a half after his removal, Mr. Graham was most of the time absent from home, attending to his affairs in Rockbridge and in Fairfax, while his family lived uncomfortably among strangers in the wilderness. He made his last journey through the mountains in the spring of 1799. He met with rainy weather, and high waters which he had to ford where they were both deep and rapid. He was consequently often wet; yet frequent exposure since his removal had so hardened his constitution that he suffered no immediate illness from this cause. But the growing perplexities of his business called him to proceed from Rockbridge to Richmond. He had nearly reached the place of his destination, when a violent rain overtook him in the afternoon. He stopped at a country house, and sat in moist clothes till bed time, without fire. This was too much for his constitution to bear. He entered Richmond next morning with a violent pleurisy, which terminated fatally on the 8th of June. He met death with calm resignation, as might be expected from his previous life. His remains lie interred in the cemetery on Church Hill, near the south door of the venerable old church.¹

Shortly after his death the lawsuit terminated, and his unfortunate family were ejected from their last home in the world. He left six children, of whom the oldest, Jahab, became a respectable preacher, but died prematurely not long after he was married to a beautiful young woman, Miss Heiskel of Staunton. Three out of four daughters married and left families. The youngest child and second son, William, was educated by Priestly, an alumnus of the father, mentioned on a preceding page. He became a physician and settled in the South.

The disastrous scheme of a settlement on the Ohio exhibits some traits of Mr. Graham's character. With a strong natural love of property, especially in land, he united an ardent, sanguine temperament, and an imagination easily fired with delusive hopes. But this defect in his mental constitution was associated in him,

¹ St. John's. Dr. Samuel L. Campbell states that Mr. Graham died at the house of Col. Robert Gamble.—W. H. R.

as in many others, with excellent qualities. He had an extraordinary energy and decision of character. He was enterprising in the conception and vigorous in the execution of his designs. His mind was ever active, full of original thoughts, and rarely content to follow implicitly the views of other men.

The energy and decision of his character, while it produced many valuable results, occasionally led him into rash and injudicious measures. The following anecdote¹ presents an example in point.

The Presbyterians of the Valley had continued the custom of singing in public worship only Rouse's version of the Psalms, until the revivals of religion in the year 1789, and afterwards, began to render the smoother versification and the evangelical diction of Watts more acceptable to many in the church, especially the younger members. The church of Providence did not consent to depart from the old custom as early as the churches under Mr. Graham's charge. The Rev. Jno. Brown, pastor of the Providence Church, a good easy man, invited Mr. Graham to assist at a sacrament, or meeting for the administration of the Lord's Supper. Mr. Graham, warm with a recent revival of religion, determined, on this occasion, to introduce Watts' hymns. He was so very indiscreet as to do this without notice at the beginning of the communion service. Some of the elder members immediately left the church, and many were offended. The consequences were agitation and ill-feeling during the communion, a schism among the members, terminating in a secession of the most discontented, and the formation of a church by the seceders, called Old Providence. The division has not yet been healed.

What made the offended party irreconcilable at the time, was a sarcastic expression of Mr. Graham's. When told in the course of the day that some talked of seceding, "Let them go," said he, "Let them go without the walls, they are but the dung of the sacrifice." This caustic and unpardonable allusion to the removal of the offal of the Jewish sacrifices without the walls of the temple, was doubtless spoken under a sudden impulse of feeling; but his whole conduct on this occasion was characteristic of the man—bold

¹Told me nearly thirty years ago, by the aged William Patton of Timber Ridge, who was present on the occasion.

and resolute in pursuing what he believed to be right, but sometimes deficient in tact and discretion, and sometimes, through impatience, cutting the knot that could, with some gentle and discriminative manipulation, have been untied. For example, the church at Tinkling Spring, under the pastoral care of Mr. McCue, was indulged for more than twenty years longer in the use of Rouse's psalms; until at last, for want of opposition to this venerable psalm-book, it was by common consent laid aside.

Another illustration of Mr. Graham's bold and independent spirit was a scene which occurred at Harrisonburg at a meeting of the Synod of Virginia in the year 1794, when a company of soldiers arrived there on their way to put down the whiskey insurgents of Pennsylvania. The Rev. Moses Hoge, warm with patriotic zeal, moved that the Synod should adopt an address to the people inculcating obedience to the laws. Mr. Graham opposed all synodical action on the subject, and boldly avowed that the "whiskey boys," as they were usually called, were not rebels, but a suffering people whose grievances ought to be redressed. Other members also opposed the motion, either because they thought that an ecclesiastical body should not meddle with civil affairs, or because they sympathized with the "whiskey boys"—whiskey being at that time a chief staple of the Valley, and the tax upon its manufacture was felt as a grievance. The address was carried by a small majority. The soldiers were exasperated against Mr. Graham and his party, and threatened violence against him, insomuch that he felt it expedient to retire privately from the scene of tumult.

About this time a new state, to be called Frankland, was projected on the upper waters of the Tennessee River, and the people in some parts of the country held meetings to carry the project into execution. A committee was appointed to draft the form of a constitution for the projected state. There is a report that Mr. Graham was, by request of the committee, the draftsman, but this is not probable; for after the proposed constitution was published, he wrote and published a pamphlet in which he speaks of this constitution as the production of the committee and not of his own pen, and praised it far too highly to comport with the modesty of an author when speaking of his own work. Either this laudatory

pamphlet or the constitution so lauded—probably the former—was violently assailed by the Rev. Hezekiah Balch, a member of the Abingdon presbytery, which was mostly within the projected state. Mr. Graham in turn addressed a printed letter to Balch, in which he satirized him most bitterly. The Synod, before whom the case was brought, inflicted but a light censure on Graham, because the provocation was considered as more than a man of Graham's irascible temperament could well bear. But the people who opposed the project of a new state did not let him off so easily. His defence of the scheme so irritated some of them, that they assembled tumultuously and burnt him in effigy. These and similar acts of Mr. Graham made him many enemies, and caused some good people to question the sincerity of his religion. They looked more to his defects than to his excellencies. Mr. Graham's love of rectitude and zeal for the glory of God and the welfare of man, were strong enough generally to overcome his irascibility, and restrain his natural love of wealth and of power. His constitutional love of sway, however, was often manifest. He could seldom be content to act a subordinate part. In whatever meetings for business, civil or ecclesiastical, he took part, he always conspired to take a leading part. In general, he was courteous in debate, but still impatient of strong and especially of disrespectful opposition, which often drew from him a caustic and satirical reply that gave lasting offence.

So his manners in private life were uncommonly courteous, particularly towards inferiors. Riding once with a friend,¹ they met a negro on the road, who began "to make his manners" as soon as they approached him. Mr. Graham took off his hat, and in all sincerity and politeness responded to the poor fellow's bow; nor did he cover his head again until they had passed him. The friend having made some jesting remark about it;—"What!" said Mr. Graham, "would you have me to be outdone in politeness by a negro!"

As a teacher Mr. Graham had eminent qualifications. He possessed the art of communicating instruction in a clear and impressive manner, and of governing a school with authority and

¹ The late Capt. William Lyle of Oakly, in Rockbridge, a trustee of the academy, who succeeded his father, Samuel Lyle, as a member of the board.—W. H. R.

success. Orderly students loved him, for to them he was uniformly gentle and affectionate; the disorderly and vicious feared him, for to them he was magisterial, stern, and sometimes terrible in his rebukes.

As a preacher, a theologian, a philosopher, Mr. Graham was distinguished for profoundness and originality of thought. His views and his language were clear and forcible. Yet, for want of extensive reading and comprehensiveness of acquired knowledge, he could not so well spread his views over an extensive subject, as he could grasp strongly and unfold clearly a particular and detached train of thought. His favorite study was mental philosophy, of which he formed, without committing to paper, a system of his own, the fruit of observation and reflection, more than of reading and selection.

As a preacher he was greatly admired by the majority of his hearers, for the closeness and depth of his reasoning and the warmth of his application.

"His profound study of the human heart (says the Rev. Dr. Alexander¹) enabled him to describe the various exercises of the Christian with a clearness and truth which often greatly surprised his pious hearers; for it seemed to them as if he could read the very inmost sentiments of their minds, which he described more perfectly than they could do it themselves.

"When it was his object to elucidate some difficult points, it was his custom to open his trenches, so to speak, at a great distance, removing out of the way every obstacle, until at last they could not easily avoid acquiescence in the conclusion to which he wished to bring them. As a clear and cogent reasoner he had no superior among his cotemporaries."

As to his delivery, Dr. Alexander says that in common it was rather feeble and embarrassed, and his dark-colored eyes had rather a dull appearance; but when he was excited his voice became penetrating, his eyes brilliant and piercing, and his whole manner awakening and expressive.

In person he was of middling stature, of thin habit of body, but active and easy in his motions.

¹ In his printed address to the Alumni of Washington College.

He was not a ready nor elegant writer. His writings were few and small, consisting of some notes of sermons and of lectures on Mental Philosophy and Theology, a tract on Baptism, in which he managed well a line of argument which had not before been prominently brought out by writers on the same side; and lastly the political pamphlet before mentioned, criticising the proposed constitution of Frankland. In this pamphlet Mr. Graham showed himself to be thoroughly democratic in his political sentiments. But he had some notions on government which the sad experience of the world has demonstrated to be visionary. He imagined that by constitutional provision, the vicious part of society might be excluded from political power and only the virtuous suffered to bear rule. He was in favor of an agrarian law, to prohibit any individual from owning a large quantity of land. He was for frequent rotation in all public offices; for appointing judicial as well as other officers by popular elections; for a single legislative body; and for submitting every bill to the consideration of the people during six months, before it should become a law.

We shall give some extracts from this pamphlet, as a specimen of Mr. Graham's style and manner of thinking, in the hope also that they may do good by the exposure of certain vices, in blunt but in exceedingly strong and pertinent language.

"The report of the committee [who drew up the plan of a constitution for Frankland] contains an article which excludes from all civil offices immoral men, such as habitual drunkards, profane swearers, gamblers, lewd persons, etc.—one of the wisest and best articles in the universe, and with other articles of that report, will do honor to the gentlemen who framed it, as long as the English language is understood, whether the people of Frankland be wise enough to adopt them or not."

After some other remarks of the like sort, Mr. Graham proceeds to comment on the vices aforesaid, after this manner:

"Lewdness, gaming and drunkenness are very expensive vices, and cannot be practiced to any great degree without considerable wealth; hence we shall find these two extremes often united in persons devoted to these vices,—profuse and avaricious; *profuse* in expending what they possess upon their appetites, and *avaricious* in proportion to the crav-

ings of these appetites. The first leads to idleness and want; the last to villainy and deceit; and even robberies have not in all cases been stopped at, when they appeared the highest means of relief and gratification. Their whoring debts, drinking debts, gaming debts, (*debts of honor!*) must be paid at all events, though an innocent family should starve, honest creditors be defrauded and the public ruined. And are men to be trusted with the public safety, who have not honesty and prudence enough to manage their private estates? Will the public good be studied by men who never studied their own? Will men promote the public happiness, who are constantly laying snares for the unwary, to take their money, and give them nothing in return but remorse and anguish? Will men support morality, who contrive to break the peace of families and bring lasting infamy and disgrace upon the most helpless part of the species? The man who can be wheedled out of his senses and believe that such wretches will aim at anything but enslaving the people, as far as they dare, and glutting themselves with the public's money, may believe in the deity of Julius Cæsar, or the divine authority of the inquisition.

"Profane swearing is another vice, the practice of which is incompatible with the public good. Fully to understand this, it will be necessary to take into view a principle, supposed in all governments, and essential to their existence, *that there is an almighty and omnipotent being, who loves truth and hates falsehood, who will reward the good and punish the wicked.* Upon this principle are courts of justice founded, and the mode of ascertaining truth by oath, adopted by all civilized nations. The greater reverence men in general have for this principle, with the greater ease and certainty can almost every concern of government be conducted, and whatever tends to weaken that reverence tends to unhinge government and prevent the exercise of justice. Profane swearing tends to wear off that reverence, and proportionally introduces falsehood and perjury, and is therefore incompatible with the first ideas of happy or equal government. Then will a wise people trust the management of a state to men who are every day destroying the very essential principles upon which it is founded?"

After some good observations on habitual Sabbath breakers, he says :

"To this article [which excludes vicious men from office] it is objected that 'It excludes some men of great ability and experience who might do good.' That the Devil has great abilities, and long experience, and might possibly do good, perhaps few will deny; but I

believe no prudent set of men would choose him for a legislator. And the very same reasons that should deter them from choosing the father should deter them from choosing his sons, because he is an enemy to mankind."

Thus keenly and justly does the author satirize vicious characters and expose their unfitness for public office. Happy would the country be, if the people in the exercise of their sovereign will were always influenced by such reasoning as Mr. Graham's. But, alas! if the men who are guilty of any of the vices named above were banished from our legislative halls, there would scarcely be a quorum left. But vain would be a constitutional provision against the election of such men to office. Such men are most apt to engage in the trade of politics, being often fit for no other; and possess some advantages over virtuous men for carrying it on, being unrestrained by moral principle from using the basest arts to win popular favor. When by temporizing policy, artful flattery, impudent pretension and mock patriotism, they have won the hearts of those who sympathize with their private vices, and imposed on the simplicity of the honest, who imagine that public virtue is compatible with private vice; who or what can prevent the sovereign majority from raising them to office? If the constitution declares them ineligible, how are they to be convicted and excluded? What tribunal elected by the people dares to thwart the popular will, which in democratical governments will reign in spite of paper constitutions and official oaths? It is the policy of demagogues always to drive the popular will of the day over the salutary barriers of constitutional law. The only way in which vicious men can be excluded from office is to make the people so wise and virtuous that no vicious man can gain their favor.

But to return to Mr. Graham. We may say of him in general, that, like many men of keen sensibility and vehement passions, he had more excellencies and more faults than ordinary good men. His usefulness to mankind, after deducting the faults that he had committed, was still greater than a man of tamer character, however blameless, can ordinarily effect.

In conclusion we may affirm that the community among whom he lived and labored were much indebted to him for his valuable

and ill-rewarded services ; and the country will ever owe its most grateful remembrance to the principal founder of Liberty Hall Academy. Especially should Washington College, that owes to him its existence, embalm his memory forever. Had he been less able, faithful and disinterested in sustaining the precarious existence of Liberty Hall, from which our College sprang, this now flourishing seat of learning would in its incipient state have shared the fate of thousands of other transient academies that, like fungi, spring up, decay, perish and leave not a trace of their existence on the records of time.¹

¹ For most of the facts respecting the private life of Mr. Graham, I am indebted to a well written memoir of him, published by his younger brother, the late Edward Graham, Esq., in Dr. Rice's *Literary and Evangelical Magazine*, 1821.

PART II.

WRITTEN IN 1847.

GEORGE A. BAXTER'S APPOINTMENT TO WASHINGTON ACADEMY. DONATION BY THE CINCINNATI SOCIETY.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE RESIGNATION OF MR. GRAHAM UNTIL THE APPOINTMENT OF MR. BAXTER AS RECTOR.

In September, 1796, General Washington officially notified the governor of Virginia of his donation to Liberty Hall Academy. When the legislature met in November of this year, they were informed of this fact and soon took it in hand to recharter and remodel the institution, without consulting the trustees, or paying the slightest regard to the rights vested in them by the original charter.

On the 21st of December they passed an act entitled "An act for erecting Liberty Hall Academy into a College." In the preamble they recited the fact of the donation, and declared as the object of the new charter, that the benevolent design of the donor might be better promoted, "by enlarging the nature of the said institution." Some circumstances prove, however, that they meant as much to *change*, as to *enlarge*, "the nature of the institution." The form which they undertook to give it is rather singular, as the following account of the principal enactments will show :

"In this college [says the act] there shall be four schools, one of Languages, one of Mathematics, one of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, and one of Logic, Moral Philosophy and Belles Lettres, in each of which schools there shall be a *professor* and as many tutors

as shall from time to time be found necessary. One of the professors shall be appointed President, and the said President and professors shall be a body corporate by the name of the President and Professors of the College of Washington in Virginia."

In this corporation the act vested all the property of the college, the right of appointing the treasurer, tutors and other subordinate officers, and the adoption of rules and regulations for the government of the college, and everything pertaining to the system of education to be pursued in the several schools.

A board of nineteen visitors was also constituted, for the purpose of appointing the President and professors, with the power of removing them also for good cause shown. They were to fix the salaries of the professors, supply all vacancies in the faculty and in their own body, determine the rates of tuition, and to have the power of making and establishing ordinances and statutes for the general government of the college ; they were to examine the pecuniary accounts and inquire into the management of the college property.

The act vested all the property of the academy, old, new and future, in this new compound corporation.

The power given to each of these corporate bodies, to enact laws for the college without the consent of the other, was adapted to produce a plentiful harvest of disputes and contentions. The power of *removal*, so potent in civil government, would ultimately prevail in such a constitution and nullify the independent rights of the faculty.

A significant circumstance in this act is, that among the nineteen gentlemen named as visitors, not one was a clergyman, much less a Presbyterian clergyman, and scarcely one, if even one, was a member of the Presbyterian church. By whomsoever this new charter was contrived, one obvious part of the scheme was to deprive the Presbyterians of all share in the management of the institution, which they had founded and conducted up to the day of its *unconditional* endowment by the Father of his Country. The effect of the act would be to rob them of their academy with all that they had invested in it.

By the first act of incorporation the Synod of Virginia and the Presbytery of Lexington had lost the control of it. To this they

submitted without complaint; for the reason probably that the large proportion of Presbyterians, clergymen and church members in the board of trustees, gave assurance of a salutary degree of religious influence in the management of the institution. The agreement with the Synod of Virginia, by which a Theological school had been connected with it, was not only necessary at the time to raise the academy from its low condition, but was virtually dissolved by the resignation of Mr. Graham, several months before this new charter was enacted, and by the discontinuance of the ecclesiastical bodies to exercise the privileges derived from the agreement.

On the 21st of January, 1797, the board of trustees of Liberty Hall met and unanimously declared it as their opinion, "that the late act of the Legislature of Virginia, erecting Liberty Hall Academy into a College, was an unjustifiable infringement of the rights of the corporation of Liberty Hall, and an instance of tyrannical imposition in the Legislature, and that, moreover, it did not repeal the act incorporating Liberty Hall Academy." Therefore, the board resolved to persevere, as they had done hitherto, in executing the powers vested in them. At the same time they appointed a committee to draw up in full the reasons of the opinion which they had expressed concerning the late act and of their resolution to persevere in the exercise of their corporate rights. This committee reported to the board at their next meeting, on the 8th of February, and their report was adopted. The substance of the reasons alleged is: 1st, that the property held by a corporation is private property, and no more at the disposal of the Legislature than the property of individuals; 2d, that the act was dangerous in its tendency, because it unsettled all chartered rights and privileges; 3d, that the donations formerly given to the academy would justly revert to the donors by the dissolution of the corporation to whom they had been given, and the business of education would have to be suspended at the academy; 4th, that the debts due to and from the academy thus dissolved, could not be legally recovered, and that the creditors of the academy would be defrauded; 5th, that the property of the academy having been committed in trust to the board, they considered themselves morally responsible for the use and management of it; and 6th, that they felt assured

that the late act was contrary to the wishes of the great majority of those worthy citizens who had given liberally of their estates to the academy.¹

The trustees who participated in this praiseworthy act of resistance to legislative usurpation were : John Willson, Joseph Walker, William Alexander, Alexander Campbell, John Lyle, William Lyle, Samuel L. Campbell, M. D., the Rev. Samuel Brown, and the Rev. Samuel Houston, at the first meeting ; and at the second, Charles Campbell and Col. James McDowell, the latter being one of the visitors named in the new charter. At subsequent meetings Col. Andrew Moore, another of these visitors, also attended. These gentlemen, therefore, adhered to the old charter.

There must have been in the country and among the gentlemen named as visitors a general sentiment of opposition to the new charter ; for the new board of visitors never met, nor does it appear that a sufficient number to form a quorum were willing to accept the office tendered them by the legislature.

From all the circumstances we may infer that the new charter was inconsiderately enacted by the legislature, at the suggestion of a few individuals, unfriendly to Presbyterian influence in particular, and generally to the management of public education by clergymen and religious associations. The singular form intended to be given to the corporation, the division into *schools* of the projected college of Washington, and other novel features of the scheme, indicate that some *influential theorist* was aiming on this occasion to introduce what he considered a necessary reform in the system of public education.²

However this may be, the scheme was completely frustrated by the firmness of the trustees in adhering to their rights. On a proper representation of the case to the next legislature, they

¹ The protest was prepared by the Rev. Samuel Brown of New Providence Church, one of the trustees. The original draft is in the possession of his son, the Rev. William Brown, D. D.—Ebs.

² The author seems to suspect that Thomas Jefferson had some hand in this charter, as every point suggested applies to him. The general impression has been that the charter originated in sectarian feeling. No doubt different parties united to rob the Scotch-Irish of their school, but they found, as many others have done, that they had a tough set to deal with.—W. H. R.

promptly repealed the new charter, and conformably to the desires of the trustees changed the name of the institution to Washington Academy.¹

Mr. Graham resigned his office in September, 1796. From that time during two and a half years the academy was committed to the care of tutors.² For some time previously one or two tutors had been employed to assist Mr. Graham, who gave his attention principally to the classes in Theology, Moral Philosophy, &c. The salaries of the tutors absorbed most of the fees, and left but a small remuneration to the rector.

One of the tutors both before and after Mr. Graham's resignation was Conrad Speece, afterwards the Rev. Dr. Speece. He and George A. Baxter,—future president of Washington College,—were graduated together in October, 1796. Mr. Speece was of a German family near New London in Campbell county, Virginia. While yet a mere lad he showed an inquiring mind and a turn for literary pursuits. He was therefore sent to the New London Academy, then taught by Edward Graham, Esquire, brother of the Rev. William Graham. He was described by Mr. Graham as being, when he appeared at the academy, an awkward, uncouth boy, apparently overgrown for his age, and to a superficial observer altogether too coarse a material to be polished into any sort of refinement.

When the Latin Grammar was first put into his hands, he knew not what it meant, nor what he had to do with it; he sat down and turned over its leaves one by one, scanning the contents here and there with a puzzled curiosity that showed itself in his face.

¹ Zechariah Johnston, one of the trustees, represented Rockbridge in the House of Delegates, and was chiefly instrumental in securing the repeal of the obnoxious act. He lived at Stone Castle, two miles south of Lexington.—Eds.

² One tutor during this interregnum is said to have been Dr. Samuel L. Campbell, who became a skilful and popular physician. He continued to reside in Rockbridge, and died an old man on his Rock Castle farm near Old Monmouth Church. Dr. Campbell was a man of wit and literary accomplishment. His sketch of Mr. Graham's school on Mount Pleasant is an elegant composition. He became blind in his old age, and yet would continue to ride to Lexington on horseback without a guide. When meeting some one, he would sometimes call out in a cheerful tone, "Who's that? Take care—don't let me ride over you!"—W. H. R.

He thus labored for a while to get some insight of its nature, but finding nothing that he could understand he came to Mr. Graham in despair, saying that he could never learn *that thing*. But by Mr. Graham's persuasion he began to recite lessons, still complaining that the book had no sense in it. After a while the mystery of the Latin grammar began to reveal itself; he caught glimpses of meaning; his spirit rose; he applied himself with increasing zeal, and in half the usual time he mastered the Rudiments of Latin. His after progress in classical and scientific knowledge corresponded with this beginning; so that, before he was graduated, his distinguished scholarship and talents procured him the tutorship in Liberty Hall Academy, to which he had gone to complete his studies. He was chief tutor during a year and a half after Mr. Graham's resignation. He then studied theology, and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Hanover.

The controversy about the mode and subjects of Baptism having been stirred anew in those days, Mr. Speece, having his attention called to this subject while his mind was not yet firmly settled on sundry questions in divinity, fell into such strong doubts of the validity of Presbyterian baptism, that he got himself immersed, and joined the Baptists in East Virginia. They received him gladly, as a young preacher of fine talents and acquirements, and treated him with much attention and hospitality. He travelled among their churches, preaching among them, and scarcely able to satisfy their desire to hear him. But before many months had elapsed, he found that his mind was yet unsettled on the questions that had led to his change of ecclesiastical connection. He suspected that he had been too hasty in making the change, and at the same time his heart yearning after the religious friends and connections amongst whom he had received his conversion and his education, he resolved to give the subject of Baptism a thorough reconsideration. The result was a firm and, as it proved, a lasting conviction that the church of his first love was right in all her doctrines and ordinances. He returned to her bosom and continued to the end a zealous supporter of Presbyterianism, yet free from bigotry and uncharitableness towards his fellow christians of other denominations.

However honestly Mr. Speece investigated the points of difference among Protestants, and however able he was to form a correct judgment, we infer nothing from his case in relation to the truth of Presbyterian doctrines,—knowing, as we do, that men equally honest and equally able have come to different conclusions when investigating the same questions in different circumstances and under different influences. The heart of man has much to do with the views of his understanding in all matters of opinion.

After some years he was called to take charge of the Augusta church in the Valley, about eight miles from Staunton. Here he continued as pastor during the remainder of his life. He had a sound constitution and almost uninterrupted health, until a few years before his death, when he began to be affected by a disease of the stomach, which gradually increased, and was probably the remote if not the immediate cause of his sudden decease in the year 1835.

Though he was an old man when he died, it may be reasonably suspected that he shortened his days by the excessive use of tobacco, of which he was an enormous chewer, by day and by night. He seldom ever slept without his quid. In one particular he had the advantage of less thorough-going chewers ; he was never put to difficulty about a place of deposit for the liquid extract of his mastication, his stomach being always ready to receive what could not otherwise be conveniently disposed of. Why not? We read of men who could gradually accustom themselves to swallow the most virulent poisons with impunity. The weed, which he consumed with so much zest, he praised with no less zeal. He did not, like most chewers, excuse the practice which so many in the politer circles of society abominate ; he justified it ; he commended it ; he recommended it as an innocent pleasure, as a solace in trouble, as prophylactic against irritability and impatience under the annoyances to which man is subject in the daily course of his life. Once at a meeting of the Synod of Virginia, in Lexington, we happened to be in the same pew at divine service, when a clerical brother noted for tedious, commonplace sermons, rose to preach. No sooner did Speece see him open the Bible than he stooped and whispered in my ear. “ We shall have need of patience, but I am fully armed for the trial,” said he, producing a large twist of

tobacco, and wringing off a piece as big as he could easily cram into his mouth. He lodged it in his cheek and then sat upright and listened with exemplary composure to the monotonous prosings of the worthy brother.

His distinguished learning and talents led the trustees of Princeton College to confer on him the honorary title of Doctor of Divinity while he was yet in the middle stage of life.

In person Dr. Speece was tall, heavy and inactive, ungraceful in his movements, unpolished in his manners, unfashionable in dress, his clothes hanging loose about him, and his low-crowned, broad-brimmed hat curving up in all manner of ways. In respect to his intellect, he was distinguished for the clearness, method and precision of his thoughts, and consequently for the ready command of his knowledge and the promptitude, fluency and correctness of his language. He never in speaking, either publicly or privately, hesitated an instant for a thought or an expression, and never erred in his syntax, or failed to have at command the proper words to convey precisely what he meant.

He was a great reader of books, both theological and literary,—yet rather a general reader than a profound investigator. He could easily digest what he read, and lay up his acquisitions in the proper departments of his mental warehouse. Still he did not pursue a systematic course of reading, nor labor long and studiously upon any one subject. Hence he was full of various book knowledge, but not profoundly learned. He read Latin with considerable ease, and now and then examined a ponderous tome of former ages, especially the old Protestant Divines of Germany; but he preferred late English and American writers, and never studied French or classical German sufficiently to read authors in these languages. As a preacher he was fluent, clear, and instructive. His deep, sonorous, but not musical voice, filled the ears of the largest audience, but he was rather monotonous and unimpassioned in his delivery, and seldom uttered anything very striking or impressive. He rarely made a single note, when preparing his sermons; his ready and well furnished mind could easily arrange the topics of his discourse and glance over a fitting train of thought; and this was all the preparation he usually made. Yet when he preached his thoughts were so lucid and so well arranged, his diction so

accurate, and the flow of his utterance so easy, so full and so unbroken, that all seemed to have been elaborately prepared, and his sermons would have needed no correction if they had been copied verbatim by the press. In this respect he excelled all the preachers that I have known.

Though in person, dress and manners he was uncouth and unfashionable, he was social in his disposition, fond of conversation, especially with intelligent people, entertaining in company, and full of a droll humor and curious phrases which were very amusing. His peculiar humor sometimes showed itself in the pulpit, and not always with good effect, because it lowered the dignity of his office as an expounder of sacred truth.

He did not excel as a writer. The style of his written compositions was inferior to that of his extemporaneous discourses. His ready mind seemed to feel cramped and embarrassed by the slow mechanical process of writing. He published little, except "*The Mountaineer*," a small volume of essays. The subjects are moral and literary, and are treated with judgment, but not with the wit, the ease, and the elegant grace of style which give a classical merit to such compositions. Though a great admirer and reader of poetry, he had little imagination; his taste was therefore rather correct than delicate, and his style lacked embellishment.

He was a sincere and warm-hearted Christian, sound in his principles, and blameless in his life; yet, without being conscious of it, he was penurious in his disposition, saving not only his dollars but his cents. This did not detract from his honesty, which was unimpeachable, though it detracted from his liberality. He was of the German stock of frugal farmers, and a bachelor all his life; which may help to account for this blemish in the character of a good man who was by no means destitute of Christian benevolence. We have thought his name worthy of commemoration in the history of an institution of which he was a distinguished alumnus.¹

After Mr. Speece's resignation of the tutorship, it was found difficult to fill the vacancy. The want of a rector, and the pecuniary embarrassments of the academy, seemed likely to break up the

¹ Dr. Speece and the author were strong friends.—W. H. R.

school. The number of the students was reduced by the vacancy in the rectorship ; and those who remained became hardly manageable by an officer of inferior rank, who had himself just emerged from the condition of a student. The tutor's office therefore was both unpleasant and unprofitable. So difficult did the tutors find it to maintain order among the students that it was at one time found necessary to detail certain trustees whose duty it should be to attend the academy in turn, to assist the tutors in governing the school.

After all that the trustees could do in collecting subscriptions, it was found in March, 1798, that the debts of the academy still amounted to £350. To prevent the evil consequences of a lawsuit threatened by a creditor, some of the trustees again saved the academy, by advancing money to pay this claim, and agreeing to wait an indefinite time for repayment out of the yet future proceeds of the James River Stock.

It was in such circumstances difficult to get a competent man to take charge of the academy. At length, however, in the autumn of 1798, the board were fortunate enough to procure the services of the Rev. George A. Baxter, before mentioned as the fellow-graduate of Mr. Speece. Though yet a young man, his superior intellect and talents had already shone out sufficiently to make him a valuable acquisition to the academy. He was first appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He accepted the office immediately, and was to enter upon its duties the following spring.

Mr. Baxter was a native of Rockingham county. He was born of Presbyterian parents on the 22nd day of July, 1771. The country in which his father lived was filled chiefly by a German population, though by some means a moderate number of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians got mixed with them in that neighborhood. Of course in the last century, and in such circumstances, it was an extraordinary thing for a young man to get his mind turned towards literary pursuits. It was an extraordinary circumstance that turned young Baxter's mind in this direction. A finely educated young Irishman, son of a wealthy gentleman of Cork, lived for some time as a *servant* in his father's family. He fled suddenly from his country, for some offence, supposed to be political, and

having no money to pay his passage to America he was sold for a term of years, and by some means fell into the hands of Mr. Baxter's father. His elegant conversation, fine taste, and extensive knowledge inspired young Baxter's mind with a desire for similar accomplishments, and brought him to Liberty Hall Academy when he was about twenty-one years of age. To those who knew the powers of his mind, it is needless to say that he made rapid progress in his studies. After graduation he commenced the study of theology; but before his licensure by the Lexington Presbytery he became principal of the New London Academy, which he conducted for the space of two years. A few months after he settled here he was married to Miss Annie Christian Fleming of Botetourt county, descended of a highly respectable English family, and daughter of the Col. Fleming whose name appears in the list of the original trustees of Liberty Hall Academy, when it was first organized by the Hanover Presbytery. Mr. Baxter continued at New London until he was called to Lexington.

CHAPTER II.

DEBTS.—DIFFICULTIES.—INCOME FROM STOCK AND LOSS BY FIRE.

According to agreement, Mr. Baxter entered on the duties of his professorship in May, 1799, three years after Mr. Graham had ceased to teach in the academy. When the trustees met at the close of the session in October, they were so well satisfied with Mr. Baxter's qualifications that they appointed him rector, and thus placed him fully at the head of the institution.

The academy was without a building to accommodate its new rector. Mr. Graham having occupied his own house on his farm, near at hand, there was until now no necessity for a rector's house on the grounds of the academy. Mr. Baxter had, therefore, to occupy the steward's house with his family until another could be provided. How to build a rector's house while the academy was pressed with debts, and its James River stock was yet unproductive, and the people of the country were unwilling to give further

aid, and while moreover it was scarcely possible for the academy either to borrow money or to get work done on credit,—was a question which would have puzzled all the wise men of Greece. No wonder then that it puzzled the trustees of Washington Academy. To resort to a gratuitous subscription they knew would be vain. The disposition of the people to contribute to the institution had declined ever since its first organization, although their ability had vastly increased ; the only instance of a subscription approaching to liberality since the revolution, was during a fit of religious excitement. Now when no such excitement existed, and when the donation of General Washington secured the academy a future income, few were willing to bestow even a dollar upon such an object.

This is the way of men—shall we say Christians?—in general. They set so low a value upon the pleasure of doing a good, that any trifling gratification of sense or of fancy will draw voluntary contributions from them, when objects of public utility plead in vain for a donation ; so that the friends of useful institutions generally find it necessary to interest the selfish feelings of covetousness or vanity in enterprises of beneficence, before they can extract the voluntary contributions of mankind. Hence, more money can be raised by lottery for a charitable object than by subscriptions ; showing that a *blind* covetousness is more efficient than *open-eyed* benevolence. Gentlemen and ladies will give tens of thousands to pamper a luxurious appetite or to see the lascivious exhibitions of a dancing girl, rather than give thousands to generous philanthropy or melting charity.¹

There was but one way in which the trustees could hope to obtain funds in the present emergency. They opened a subscription for a loan to be repaid out of the first proceeds of the James River stock. In this way they did succeed in obtaining a sum sufficient to enable them to contract for the erection of a small house to accommodate the rector. For want of direct evidence we venture to presume that the trustees themselves subscribed the greater part of

¹That the world is making progress in this direction also, has been shown in the subsequent history of Washington College and Washington and Lee University. But it is not often that college trustees are willing to make the personal sacrifices made by the trustees of this institution in the earlier periods of its history.—W. H. R.

this loan. We know that they had in several other instances to relieve the academy out of their own pockets, because their fellow-citizens would give it no aid in its pressing necessities.

The debt of the academy was now increased to £500—no great sum—yet sufficient to cripple the operations of a literary institution, as yet inadequately furnished with buildings, apparatus and other requisites of a good academy.

From the year 1796 to the close of the century, only three students appear from the records to have obtained the bachelor's degree. The first of these was Mr. Robert Willson, of Rockbridge. He was graduated in 1797. He afterwards became a respectable minister of the gospel, and settled in Kentucky.

The late Edward Graham, Esq., told the following anecdote of Mr. Willson, which we think worthy of preservation.

About the beginning of the present century, when Mr. Graham resided in Charleston, Kanawha county, Mr. Willson passed through that country on his way to Kentucky. He arrived on a Saturday evening at the house of old William Morris, in the upper part of the Kanawha Valley. In the course of the evening, discovering that Mr. Morris was a member of the Baptist Church, he made known his character as a Presbyterian minister, and asked if there would be any preaching in the neighborhood on the next day. "None for you," was the blunt answer, uttered as usual with Morris in a harsh tone of voice, not meant to be offensive, but only positive. Willson was a small, delicately formed and rather timid man, and used therefore to be called little Bobby, to distinguish him from his namesakes in Rockbridge, who were generally large men. Now little Bobby was frightened with the huge old backwoodsman's rough answer,¹ and dared not say another word about preaching; but being told that Mr. Johnson, the Baptist minister, was to preach the next day near Charleston, eighteen miles below, he determined to hasten on in the morning, that he might attend this preaching, and get clear as soon as possible of this rude Kanawha Valley, of whose inhabitants he had conceived a bad opinion, from his host's illiberal treatment. He did not reach the

¹ Mr. Morris was a worthy citizen, even if he was blunt enough to express what men of like feeling usually conceal, but nevertheless act upon.—W. H. R.

place of meeting until the preacher had proceeded some way in his sermon. Appearances here also were rather unfavorable. It was summer ; the meeting was in a forest ; the fallen trees and stumps were the seats of the scattered audience,—the foot of a large shady tree was the minister's stand, and the sound of his loud harsh voice grated on Mr. Willson's ears,—the worse, as his rough landlord's voice had scarcely yet ceased to reverberate in the auditory chambers of his head. He dismounted, tied his horse to the branch of a tree, and walked as quietly as he could into the outskirts of the congregation, where he seated himself upon a fallen tree. He had scarcely done so before the rough-voiced preacher observed to the congregation, that he would shorten his discourse, because, if he was not mistaken, they might hope for another sermon from a stranger. Mr. Willson, though clerically dressed, did not imagine that he was the person alluded to. But Johnson soon wound up his sermon, and requesting the congregation to wait a little, he walked directly up to Willson, and politely inquired if he were not a minister of the gospel. Willson answered, "Yes." "Of what denomination?" "Presbyterian." "Well then, brother, I hope that you will favor us with a sermon." "I have no objection if you think that it would be agreeable to the people." "Certainly it would ; so let me conduct you to the stand." So saying, he led the little stranger to the small elevation upon which the great tree grew, and announced to the congregation that they would have the pleasure of hearing a sermon from a Presbyterian brother.

Mr. Willson was so agreeably surprised by this courteous reception, that his spirits rose, and he preached an excellent sermon. But his soft voice after Johnson's was like a flageolet after a trumpet. The people had seated themselves sparsely here and there, where the trunks and stumps of trees—some at a considerable distance—afforded seats. Those farthest off, who could not hear the gentle cooings of the stranger, rose and drew nearer. Presently all became interested and gathered closely around him. Their ears seemed to be charmed with the mellifluous tones of his voice, so different from the harsh gratings to which they had been accustomed, and (though Johnson was an excellent backwoods preacher) with a style of pulpit eloquence never heard in those woods before. When he had concluded, many requested that he would preach to

them again. He did so, the next day, in the court house; and then proceeded on his journey, much better pleased with Kanawha than the first rough salutation had led him to expect.

In October 1798, a Mr. Ramsey, "some few years past a student of this academy [says the record by a member of the board] applied for the degree of A. B. The board considered the request as reasonable and agreed to grant it. Accordingly he is hereby graduated A. B." In this summary way were A. B.'s made in those days.

The next April, Mr. J. J. Mayers, encouraged it seems by this example, applied by letter for information respecting a diploma. Whether or not the board finally granted him one, we are not informed; all that the record tells us further concerning the matter is, "that the rector was appointed to answer the letter according to the standing rules of the academy." Mr. Mayers was an alumnus of the institution. He became a lawyer of respectable standing, and was highly esteemed as an excellent man. He began his professional life in Lexington, and then lived some years in Greenbrier county. He finally removed to Tennessee, where he died.¹

It was about the beginning of the century that the amiable and eloquent John J. Crittenden, late Senator in Congress, and Governor of Kentucky, and now Attorney-General of the United States, was a student of the academy. He was then a boy fourteen or fifteen years old. Having, like many others, "*in calidâ juventû*," had some trifling affray with the steward, he did not finish his education there. It is, however, an honor to the academy to have had some share in the education of such a man.

Great difficulties were again experienced during several years in obtaining the services of a steward.

The number of students appears to have been small, and the price of boarding was low. In April, 1798, Isaiah Kincaid was employed as steward; but he soon resigned, and the vacancy could not be filled until November, 1800, when Robert Scott was induced to make the experiment. We can only conjecture that he was son of his namesake, the primitive steward of Liberty Hall. But,

¹ Mr. Mayers was a trustee from 1807 to 1819.—Eds.

what a rise had taken place meanwhile in the price of board, from six pound ten (21½ dollars) per annum, to 30 and now to 33½ dollars per session of 5 months—more than three times as much.

The following was now the bill of fare. 1. Breakfast: Coffee, tea or chocolate, with butter, *meat* and bread. 2. Dinner: Bread and meat with vegetable sauce. 3. Supper: either butter with warm bread and milk, or tea or chocolate with bread and butter.

Such fare—especially the plain dinner—would now be complained of; though less simple and plain than had been prescribed a few years before.

Mr. Scott after one session's experience informed the board that he could not afford to board students at the price allowed, but when the board refused to raise the price he still continued. The European wars had caused such a demand for provisions that the price seems to have risen, especially after the navigation of the James River had been made practicable by light boats from the Valley, as it was about this time. Yet the price of board allowed to Mr. Scott, considering that he had no house rent to pay, was about equal to the present price at Washington College, for equally plain fare; showing that provisions are upon the whole as cheap now as they were in the year 1800.

In November, 1799, a new and enlarged system of academical laws was drawn up by the Rector, and after being deliberately examined and amended by the board, was adopted. Experience afterwards pointed out the necessity of additional rules, which were adopted from time to time, as the necessity for them became apparent. This was a better way of forming a code of academical laws, than if a complete system had been attempted at once upon theoretical principles. There are certain fundamental rules according to which every academy and college ought to be governed. But the special rules designed to carry them into effect, should be adapted to the nature and circumstances of each institution, and to the character and habits of the youth who frequent it; and these can be best determined by experience in each particular institution. The main points are to secure the morals of the students, to stimulate their industry, and for these ends to prevent, as far as possible, all temptations to vice and idleness.

To carry out these principles, it is necessary, 1st, that no vicious or idle student should be long retained in the institution to corrupt his associates ; 2nd, that the faculty adopt such rules and practices as are needful to make them acquainted with the habits and conduct of every student ; 3rd, that the students should have little opportunity, without the walls, of frequenting improper places, or of associating with improper persons ; and 4th, that they should have opportunity to mix with virtuous and intelligent society, both male and female, that they may learn to value the esteem of the wise and good, and feel that they have a character to sustain in general society.

There is in the exclusive association of young men in college a natural tendency to evil, which no rigor of discipline alone can effectually counteract. The exclusiveness itself must be counteracted by the salutary influences of external society—especially that of virtuous females.

For this reason the system of commons, where the students eat together at one table, is objectionable. It may be less evil in its tendency than to let the students disperse themselves over a town where they are brought into an intimacy with street society and places of ill resort ; but still it is evil in itself.

The circumstances under which colleges have generally grown up, and their want of sufficient means—to say nothing of erroneous views among their guardians—have prevented them from adopting the system which, of all others, would be the best. Every college should own all the land within a mile or two of its buildings. It should have a village of its own, inhabited by tenants from year to year—virtuous, intelligent families of merchants, mechanics, gentlemen and professional men, including the officers of the institution, amongst whom the students should board and lodge as members of their households,—not more than five or six in a house. It would be easy to people such a village with a select society ; for many of the best families of the country would deem it a privilege to reside there, for the convenience of educating their sons ; and short leases would always enable the trustees to expurgate the place, if any evil should intrude. The college income would then be derived from rents, and the necessary buildings,

besides dwelling houses, would be a chapel, some lecture rooms and a library.¹

But we must drop the subject, with the remark that a thoroughly enlightened system of public education is not of this age;—it is reserved for a happier period, when the people shall become wiser, and their rulers more patriotic; and when selfish office hunters shall no longer sway the politics of the country.

The academy continued to suffer under the pressure of its debts. In vain did the trustees endeavor to borrow on a long credit a sum sufficient to pay the most urgent claims. One Gabriel Jones² was reported to have money to lend, and it was thought that by offering themselves as personal securities, the trustees might borrow of him 1,000 dollars for the academy. They made the offer; but Mr. Gabriel Jones would not lend to the academy on any security. They had authorized a committee to negotiate a loan at 8 per cent. interest. We presume that they offered this to Mr. Jones as well as to others. But neither Mr. Jones nor any other person would lend to the academy at 8 per cent. They tried Mr. Jones a second time, after they had tried others in vain; but still Mr. Jones would not lend to the academy, though it is evident from the circumstances that he was a moneyed man. At their wits' end they turned once more to the legislature, and petitioned them to invest in the academy the title to a tract of escheated land in Rockingham county. But the legislature was more close-fisted than even Mr. Jones;—they would neither give nor lend a suffering academy—the only literary institution west of the Blue Ridge—that which cost nothing and was probably of no great value.

It began to be rumored, about this time, that the Cincinnati Society of Virginia intended to bestow their funds on the academy. This probably led the trustees to apply to them for a loan. But

¹ The wisdom of these views has been proved by the prolonged experience of this and other institutions. The system of commons has been generally abandoned, and the students in this institution have been scattered among families where they are kept under the pure and civilizing influence of women. Man starts toward barbarism the moment he gets from under the eye of woman. The only impracticable feature in the author's views was the creation of a select community. Nor is it necessary in order to good association. In mixed society, students strike for the best families.—W. H. R.

² A distinguished but eccentric lawyer.—W. H. R.

for some reason which does not appear, the application was unsuccessful. They may have been averse to breaking their funds, then invested in public stocks, or they may have anticipated, when the application was made, that the James River stock would soon become productive and relieve the academy. So at least it turned out; the only resource was Washington's donation, and that did not fail. Like the donor himself, it was a sure reliance in the last extremity of need.

In March, 1802, five years and a half after Gen. Washington's donation, the James River stock yielded its first dividend, 3 per cent. on the capital, which gave the academy 600 dollars, a sum sufficient to pay the most pressing of its debts, and to purchase 100 dollars' worth of philosophical apparatus. The next June a second dividend of 600 dollars, and in January, 1803, a third of 1,200, delivered the institution from debt and left a surplus of 500 dollars for the purchase of books and apparatus.

At this time also, Dr. John Rodger, a native of Scotland, a resident of Rockbridge county, and a minister of the Seceder Church, gave the academy 55 volumes of books; the only donation of the sort—except now and then some stray volumes which the owner could neither read nor sell—that was ever made to the library of the institution during the first seventy years of its existence. It is true, that these books of Dr. Rodger were all either in Latin, which few, or in Hebrew, which *very* few, can read, and were chiefly on old Calvinistic Theology,—yet they were nevertheless a valuable donation, comparatively speaking, and the donor deserves commemoration in this history, as the *prince of benefactors* (in this country) to a college library. We have a little anecdote of him which may serve for his epitaph.

Once in his company a gentleman expressed his wonder that all the freemasons should for so many ages have kept the secret of their society. "Hoot, mon, I can gie you a reason why they never tell anything." "Can you?" (said the gentleman) "then, what is the reason?" "It is," said Rodger, "purely because they hae naithing to tell."

In the autumn of 1802 the faculty was increased by the appointment of the Rev. Daniel Blain as Professor of Languages. He was a native of South Carolina and an alumnus of the academy.

He was a man of respectable talents, of great moral worth, a good classical scholar, and a good teacher. Should this history reach the period of his death we shall give you a more extended notice of him.¹

In September, 1802, the trustees prudently resolved to have the academy buildings insured against fire. The committee first appointed to attend to this matter not having been furnished with the authority necessary to give legal effect to the transaction, it was not until the next meeting of the trustees, in November, that the rector was duly authorized to sign the policy of insurance in the name of the board; who, as if they had a presentiment of what was to happen, directed that the policy should be obtained as soon as possible.

Early in January, 1803, within a few weeks after the insurance was effected, the academy building accidentally took fire on the roof in the night about bed time, and as the spring from which alone water could be obtained was a hundred yards distant in a ravine, the fire had made such progress before a supply of water was brought that no efforts could save the building. All that could be done was to save the books, apparatus, and the bedding, very little of which was lost. Before morning the substantial house erected by Cravens ten years before was reduced to a ruin, and the academy was again houseless and homeless.

CHAPTER III.

THE REMOVAL OF THE SEAT OF THE ACADEMY TO THE TOWN. DISORDERS AMONG THE STUDENTS, AND SUNDRY PARTICULARS.

The school, turned out of doors by the disastrous fire, was driven to the town for temporary accommodation. The brick dwelling house between the present Episcopal church and the western spring

¹ It is to be regretted that the history was not continued to the point where it would have been appropriate to introduce a life-sketch of this admirable man.
—W. H. R.

was obtained, and after a short intermission the business of the school was resumed, though under much disadvantage.¹

The first question that arose after the fire was, whether the old building, whose walls stood firm, should be repaired, or a new building should be erected. The trustees had the ruins inspected by "skilful workmen," as they are called in the record, who pronounced the opinion that the house could not be repaired "without more expense than profit." However skilful these workmen may have been, we confidently deny the correctness of their decision. Ten years after the fire, the writer first saw the walls, which, after so long exposure to the elements, were yet almost perfectly unimpaired. The end walls are to this day as firm as a mountain rock, after the storms of forty-five winters have beaten upon their naked sides.²

Two influences may have operated to produce this decision. By condemning the old building as unworthy of repair, the workmen increased the amount of damages payable by the insurance company. This would not, indeed, profit the academy; but it would profit those who would have a larger job by building a new house, than by repairing the old one. And then, supposing these workmen to have been of Lexington, and influenced by the ardent wish of its inhabitants to connect the academy with the town, their decision was a necessary condition for effecting that object—and this might possibly have unconsciously biased their judgment.

Certain it is that the town now succeeded at last in making the academy their own, though not without a struggle. Considering the universal power of self-interest over the opinions as well as the actions of mankind, we cannot strongly censure the people of Lexington for doing what other people would have done in their place. They injured the future usefulness of the academy, but then they did not foresee the injury, perhaps; but they did foresee to a certainty that they were promoting their own interest. And, good reader, when did you ever see a community—we speak not of rare individuals—forego their particular advantage for the

¹ Probably this was the brick house afterward occupied as a residence by Prof. Edward Graham. It stood a little below the present residence of his grandson, Dr. John A. Graham.—W. H. R.

² The walls are yet standing (1890).—EDS.

general welfare? And especially, when did you ever see a town, a county or a state, prefer the *abstract* consideration of the interests of learning and virtue, to the *concrete* consideration of the interests of the stomach, the back and the pocket? Therefore, blame not the people of Lexington, because they greatly desiderated the presence of the academy in the town, whereby they might most conveniently educate their own sons, and most copiously extract money from the sons of others.¹

But they were to pay for the advantages they promised themselves. They offered a bonus of £100, about £1 per family, to get the full benefits of the academy for themselves and their heirs forever. Several sites on the border of the town were offered—"for a consideration." The trustees accepted the offer of Andrew Alexander, Esquire, whose land adjoined both the old site and the town. He took the old site with its remaining buildings in exchange for his house and two acres of land by the town, and sold to the academy the remainder of the present college grounds, 30 acres in all, at the rate of 60 dollars an acre. Therefore the board had to pay about 1,700 dollars for exchange of sites—five times as much as the town gave for the academy. The house acquired by the exchange was the old frame house occupied by the president of the college until the new professors' houses were erected in 1844.²

This change of location was the most injudicious measure ever adopted by the trustees. By bringing the institution into immediate contact with the miscellaneous population, and frequent gatherings, and tempting shops of a country town, they greatly increased the difficulties of academical government and the temptations to idleness and vice among the students. Thenceforth the students became a part of the town. They spent much of their time in the streets. Every sound and every movement of the town commu-

¹ The author's strong views on this subject no doubt originated in certain disorders and bitter animosities which followed the removal of the institution to the borders of the town and which continued for many years. In my boyhood (fifty years ago) I saw contending parties armed with clubs, guns and pistols, and held in check only by the officers of the law. But this spirit gradually passed away, until now the most cordial friendship exists between the students and the townspeople. Could the author have foreseen the present happy relations, his views would have been modified.—W. H. R.

² This building stood on the site now occupied by the president's house, and was removed to Shields Hill, where it may still be seen.—W. H. R.

nicated itself to them. Every shop and every tavern became familiar to their eyes and ears. Every meeting of every sort—every show, every party, every concert, every riot—every horn, every bell—everything that can excite the attention of excitable youth—every lure by which shop-keepers can extract money from imprudent boys—all were thenceforth continually attracting the students from their books, and from the ways of innocence.

These evils would in some degree have existed, if the academy had remained on its former site, a mile from the town. But so considerable an interval between the place of study and the place of temptation would have enabled the faculty with comparative ease to guard the youth under their care against many of the perpetually occurring distractions and excitements now operating upon the institution from the town. Were the town purified of its evil elements its presence would be an advantage to the college.¹

The fortunate insurance that had been effected on the ruined building enabled the board without difficulty to contract for the erection of new buildings. The insurance company paid 2,563 dollars; the James River stock yielded about 6 per cent., or 1,200 dollars per annum, of which as yet only about one-fourth part was appropriated to the payment of salaries. John Robinson, who finally made the institution his heir, now began to show an interest in its welfare. He made a small donation to aid in paying for the new buildings. The sum which the board had at command in the spring of 1803 was 3,523 dollars;—but the debts of the academy,

¹ There has been a great improvement in both town and students since the period under consideration. Lexington, so far as my personal knowledge goes, always had a circle of charming and excellent people, but in my early days rioting and drunkenness were much more common than they are now. Street fights were not uncommon, even among gentlemen, and on court days fights among countrymen constituted a prominent feature. I have known ten of these rencounters in one day in the streets. Not unfrequently the college boys would take part in such contests, and when for this or any other cause the faculty would discipline offenders outside parties would often interfere and make great trouble. The author as a member of the faculty had to contend with these and other evils, until it is not surprising he should desire to separate the college and the town. But with the improvement before alluded to, that contiguity which formerly was an evil has become a mutual advantage. Lexington is now unsurpassed in the purity, peacefulness, and intelligence of its people, and its families offer homes to the students where everything tends to refine and elevate.—W. H. R.

mainly now we presume for the purchase of the new site, amounted to 1,650, of which one-third, at the least, was then demanded, leaving less than 3,000 dollars applicable to the new buildings.

The plan was to erect three buildings—a large central edifice and two wings. It was determined to erect the wings first, and to postpone the main building till a more convenient season. These wings were about 60 yards apart; each was 75 feet long by 20 wide, and two stories high, with two cross passages, and four rooms in each story. In the east wing two of the upper rooms were thrown into one for a chapel and recitation room. There were fourteen rooms therefore for the accommodation of students and tutors. On the whole these structures had two rooms and the chapel more than the former academy building.

These houses were of brick from the foundations. They were hastily constructed; the bricks and the masonry were of bad quality; and the walls near the ground began within ten years to decay so much as to require repairs. Within twenty years they became on the north side so dilapidated as to threaten speedy ruin. When the present centre building was put up in the year 1826, the old houses were no longer safely habitable, though still in part occupied during several years. In the twelve or thirteen rooms appropriated to the students, all who resorted to the academy during twenty-two years were housed. The usual number of students, exclusive of those who lived in the town, was so small, that not more than two or three were obliged to lodge in the same room, though occasionally four had to be crowded together. Two are as many as should ever occupy the same room; for if one make any noise he disturbs all his room-mates.

After the James River stock became productive, and the pressing debts of the academy were discharged, the professors applied to the board for salaries out of the permanent fund. Their emoluments from the tuition fees were small. Forty, or at most sixty students, including grammar boys, at five pounds each, per annum, would yield only two or three hundred pounds for two professors and a tutor. Therefore the board, shortly after the fire, assigned to the rector a fixed salary of 150 dollars a year and one-half of the tuition fees; to Professor Blain, 100 dollars and two-thirds of the remaining half of the fees; and 40 dollars salary with the remain-

ing sixth of the fees to the tutor. When no tutor was employed, as sometimes happened when the number of students was small, the professors divided his duties and his emoluments between themselves.

As the professors could not support their families, small as they were, on their income from the academy, they were necessarily permitted, being clergymen, to have pastoral charges. Mr. Baxter was pastor of the Lexington and New Monmouth churches, with a salary of about 400 dollars; Mr. Blain of the churches of Timber Ridge and Oxford, with a salary not quite so large. Their whole income therefore was very moderate, at that time; Mr. Baxter's averaged perhaps 900 dollars a year, Mr. Blain's about 700. But at that time the style of living in Lexington was less expensive than it is now, though provisions and clothing were little cheaper, on the whole, than those of the same quality now are.

When the academy commenced its new career, after the fire, a regular course of studies was adopted at the recommendation of the rector. It was a college course of four years, and corresponded nearly with the course pursued in Princeton College at the same time. As this system of studies continued unchanged nearly twenty years, we shall present it to the reader in full.

"1. Students who learn the Latin and Greek languages shall continue in the Grammar school until they can stand an examination in Virgil and the Greek Testament, after which time they shall enter the language class, and during their first session shall read Horace and Cicero's orations, in connection with the Pantheon and Roman Antiquities. In their second session they shall read Lucian, Xenophon and Homer, with Grecian Antiquities. But students who do not choose to learn the Greek, shall employ their second session in the study of the French.

"2. Students who have stood their examination on the branches allotted to the Language Class, and the students who do not choose to study the languages, shall be received into the Mathematical Class. This class shall spend one year in the study of Arithmetic, the first six books of Euclid's Elements, Trigonometry, Surveying, Navigation, Algebra and Conic Sections.

"3. The third class shall be called the Philosophical Class, which shall spend one year in the study of Natural Philosophy, with Electricity, (and some lectures on Chemistry,) Astronomy and Geography.

" 4. The fourth class shall be called the Belles Lettres Class, which shall spend a year in reading English Grammar, Belles Lettres, Logic and the Law of Nature and of Nations. In connection with Logic they shall read parts of Locke, Reid and Stewart on the human mind."

This course, which, as before observed, was similar to that in Princeton, and probably in other colleges, was faulty in arrangement. It assigned but one daily study to the same student, and according to actual custom but one daily recitation. Students ought, at least until they reach the Senior Class, to appear two or three times a day before their teachers, or many of them will spend much of their time idly. Few students will begin the study of a lesson twenty-four or even twelve hours before it is to be recited. The general custom of students, especially the younger ones, is not to commence their preparations until there is a bare sufficiency of time left to complete them before the hour of recitation. Another evil of the arrangement is, that to make one daily lesson sufficiently long to fill up the student's time, it must be made so long as to become wearisome to a young mind, not yet trained to habits of patient continuance in one sort of exercise. It is better therefore to vary the exercise by assigning two different sorts of study at different periods of the day. Yet too great variety is also injurious, in two ways. It breaks up the subject of each study into too small portions, and does not so well train the mind to persevering exercise on one subject, which is an important consideration. A just medium should therefore be observed.

Another fault in such an arrangement of studies is, that by regular course a student would have finished his classical studies three years, and his mathematical two years, before he received his degree. At graduation therefore he would already have become somewhat *rusty* in the earlier studies of his course. Nor is a branch of knowledge so permanently impressed upon the mind, when it is studied *once for all*, and in a single year, though it may be well studied for the time,—as when the mind is exercised upon it, though less exclusively, yet for a longer time.

It was certainly an error, too, to allow the French language to be substituted for the Greek, as a qualification for a degree; not because the French is generally of less practical utility than the

Greek ; but, in the first place, because the study of it does not so well exercise the mental faculties of a youth ; and, secondly, because if the Greek be not acquired before graduation, it will scarcely ever be acquired at all, as the French oftener is, and easily can be, after the Latin and Greek have been well studied.

We reserve some remarks on the actual working of this course of studies, to a later period of our history.

In the year 1804, the new buildings were finished, a steward was employed, and the academy resumed its regular course of operations. The evils arising from its contiguity to the town began immediately to appear. Temptations to idleness and dissipation were brought to the doors of the institution, and the students were continually resorting to the streets, shops and bar-rooms of the town, especially at night. This required the adoption of new and stricter police regulations. The students were now forbidden to leave their rooms during study hours, particularly after 9 o'clock at night, and the faculty were required to visit their rooms after that hour—a duty which was but occasionally attended to. But no degree of vigilance could prevent frequent disorders. The difficulty of detecting offenders, who could slip out of their rooms, produce a disturbance in the streets, and return to their rooms in a few minutes, was so great, that it was found necessary to authorize the faculty, with the consent of two trustees, to have suspected students withdrawn by their parents, without proof of specific offences.

The idle and disorderly habits that now increased in the academy, caused many of the students to absent themselves from the semi-annual examinations, that they might avoid a public exposure of their ignorance. The trustees therefore enacted a law, providing that absentees from the examinations, who could not justify their absence, should, if they returned to the academy, be set back in their studies. But this had little effect ; because, as students were permitted to carry on the studies of two years at once, a student, if he did not choose to idle away another year in the same class, would take both that one and the one next above, and thus still “go ahead,” not only in his studies, but, if he chose, in his idleness.

We know that it is not the custom of colleges to dismiss students for mere neglect of study or deficiency of scholarship, especially where the fees are returned to them in case of dismissal ; but we know also that dismissal is the only effectual remedy, and therefore ought to be applied. What is the use of idlers in a college? or anywhere else, indeed? They may count on the catalogue and count in the *treasury* ; but if it were morally right to keep them, it would still be bad policy ; for in the long run they injure the cause of education and diminish the number of good students ; and besides, very few would be idle, if idleness were not tolerated.

The trustees still attended at the close of each session, as examiners, and expressed their judgment of the performances. Heretofore they had only entered upon the minutes a general expression of opinion on the quality of each examination. But at this period they adopted a system of marking, to denote the quality of each student's performance. They assigned three degrees of merit, *bonus* (good), *melior* (better), and *optimus* (best); and three degrees of demerit, *malus* (bad), *pejor* (worse), and *pessimus* (worst).

The examinations, from the origin of the academy up to the year 1821, were usually begun and finished on the same day. Of course they were hasty, and often slight ; yet if the examiner was skilful in putting test questions, he might make them tolerably efficacious.

The trustees rarely put questions. They let the teachers examine, each his own class, while they sat as judges. The majority of the trustees had too little knowledge of the text-books, and of the subjects of examination, to determine accurately the merits of the performance. Some of them judged only by the sound, and by the number of the student's *stumps* and of the master's corrections. Readiness and fluency of answer had considerable effect, though a learned auditor might often discover such answers to be superficial if not erroneous.

The continual tendency was to mark inferior scholars too high. Thus it came to pass that not half the bad scholars got *malus*, the worst almost never fell below it, and *bonus*, though a mark of approbation, came to be considered as a disgrace, while *optimus*, which ought to have been reserved for scholars of the highest merit, was commonly bestowed on all who rose above mediocrity.

The seriously ill effect of this practice was to lower the standard of scholarship and to indulge a degree of idleness among the students. But it is not trustees only who commit this error. When professors mark they are tempted to do the same thing, and then the effect is the same or even worse. A temporizing professor who loves popularity, and desires, like the old man in the fable, to please everybody, is sure to be guilty of this fault, and, like many a politician, to sacrifice permanent good for temporary favor.

We may as well mention here that in 1829, when the writer was temporarily charged with the chief management of the institution, he got the board to change their system of marking degrees of scholarship, by substituting for the old system the three distinctions of "Disapproved," "Approved," and "Distinguished," the last to be reserved for scholars much above the ordinary degree of merit. He thus hoped to cure the evil just spoken of. But alas! within two or three years some bad scholars were approved, and good scholars were nearly all distinguished.

The system adopted of late years—to distinguish 8 degrees of scholarship, from 0 to 7, the four higher to be approved; to mark the daily recitations, as well as the public examinations; and to let each professor mark his own classes at the examinations—worked better for some years. But then the same tendency became manifest as before. It is hard to resist it; and if one professor yields to it, the rest must ultimately yield more or less, to save themselves from the clamor and hatred of the negligent and the inferior scholars, who are encouraged by the indulgence of the *popular* professor. Such is the course of human nature.

In April, 1805, at the close of the first session in the new buildings, the performance of the classes at the examination was condemned by a general sentence of the board as *not good*, the most unfavorable judgment that they had expressed upon examination.

The only graduate whose name is found upon the record about this time is John Hendren—now the Rev. Dr. Hendren, of Augusta county. He is of Irish parentage and a native of Lexington. For many years he taught a classical school and gained a merited reputation in this difficult employment. Modest and retiring, he is not as extensively known as he deserves to be, for

his learning and his sweet Christian simplicity of heart and manners.

There is a name that should have appeared upon the record either this year or the next, but like many others is missing. It shall be found in this history, as it doubtless is in the record *on high*. It is the name of the Rev. John McElhenny, D. D., "the apostle of Greenbrier," as some have called him. He is a native of South Carolina; but having completed his academical course, he remained in Rockbridge to study theology, influenced in part, perhaps, by a tender attachment to Miss Elizabeth Walkup, of Lexington, with whom, as his partner for life, he was in 1808 settled as pastor of the Presbyterian church in Lewisburg. He was then and for years afterwards the only Presbyterian minister in a region of West Virginia about 150 miles square. His salary being inadequate, he founded an academy in Lewisburg which became a permanent institution. Here during some twenty years he labored faithfully as an instructor of youth, and hundreds received of him the mental and moral improvement that afterwards made them respected and useful in society.¹ The general state of society through all that country was elevated and purified by his labors. As a minister, even more than as a teacher, did he shed a salutary influence over the population, particularly in the counties of Greenbrier and Monroe. He was indefatigable. After attending to his duties in the academy, he would mount a swift horse, dash off some fifteen or twenty miles, and spend the Saturday and the Sabbath in the labors of his ministry. On the alternate Sabbaths he would preach in the forenoon to his Lewisburg congregation, in the afternoon to some neighborhood in the country, often ten miles distant, and return in the evening, sometimes to hold a third meeting among his immediate parishioners. Occasionally he would cross rivers and mountains to preach to the destitute, fifty or a hundred miles from his residence. Such a man was and is "the Apostle of Greenbrier." He is not in the common sense of the term a great man; but he is more, "in labors more abundant." His reward has not been in this world; it is yet to come. He is now old and grey-headed and must be soon gathered

¹ The author was one of his pupils, as were many others who became distinguished.—W. H. R.

to his fathers; but he will leave the impression of his labors stamped deeply on the everlasting mountains, where his voice has been so often heard, and his memory shall be blessed for ages.¹

In 1805 the Legislature required the James River Company to complete the original scheme of improvement, by connecting the basin of the canal in Richmond by a series of locks with the harbor below—a work which proved to be useless when it was done.

The capital stock having been expended on the works above, the company were compelled to apply the proceeds of the tolls to this object, and therefore to suspend the payment of dividends to the stockholders. This cut off the academy's supply of funds, and proved very embarrassing. The teachers' salaries, the increase of the library and apparatus, and the debts arising from the purchase of the new site and the erection of the new buildings, required considerable yearly sums, and now there was a sudden failure of the source from which they were expected to come.

It was therefore determined to send agents abroad to solicit donations in this emergency. The rector himself went as agent to Lower Virginia, where he collected in Richmond, Fredericksburg, Norfolk, Lynchburg and the counties of Powhatan and Amherst, the sum of 1177 dollars in cash, besides obtaining subscriptions for 262 dollars more. On a second tour he collected 639 dollars and got subscriptions for 106 dollars; which made the handsome sum of 2,184 dollars, given to the academy by generous individuals of East Virginia,²—a sum not much inferior to the total amount that could be begged out of the people of the Valley during the space of thirty years for their own academy.³ It does not appear that the people west of the Blue Ridge contributed a cent on this occasion. Samuel B. Wilson, licentiate preacher, was sent as agent to make collections in the Carolinas and Georgia. The result of his

¹ Died in 1871, universally honored and beloved.—W. H. R.

² Mr. Jefferson, the President of the United States, contributed fifty dollars to the academy at this time.—Eds.

³ The generosity of the East Virginians should be remembered, but their merchants and planters constituted a far wealthier class than was to be found in the Valley in those days. The people of the Valley founded the school, patronized it, kept it alive, and always have been and will be its most reliable friends.—W. H. R.

agency is not recorded. The probability is that he did not obtain much ; for it is contrary to custom, if not to nature, for the current of benevolent contributions to run from South to North, like the Gulf Stream. It has always set the contrary way. Making no calculation on this we still find the Academy a gainer from East Virginian liberality by 1,869 dollars, after deducting the rector's charge of 315 dollars for his expenses and services as agent. This was equal to 18 months' income from the James River Stock.

We have fallen upon the name of the Rev. Samuel B. Wilson, D. D., who is an alumnus of the academy. He must have been graduated before this time, though his name is not upon the record as a graduate. He was long pastor of the Presbyterian church in Fredericksburg, and is now the worthy professor of theology in the Union Seminary, near Hampden Sidney College.

In 1806 the tutors, Jahab Graham (son of the Rev. William Graham) and Robert Logan, requested an increase of salary. They had between them only one-sixth of the tuition fees and 40 dollars salary—a poor pittance. The board now added 100 dollars to their salaries.

In October, 1807, Messrs. Baxter and Blain also applied for an increase of salary. The board now assigned to the rector a salary of 300 dollars per annum, to Professor Blain 200, and to the tutors 80 dollars. The tuition fee was at the same time raised to 25 dollars per annum.

In the summer of 1805 the academy had become popular, for no less than 70 students of all sorts are found on the list of that session. Most of them were from lower Virginia and from the Southern States. Unfortunately for the institution, a considerable number of them appear to have been gentlemen's sons who did not design to get a regular education, but were sent to school for two or three years at most, that they might acquire some smattering of the knowledge befitting a gentleman who was above the necessity of professional labor, or any other sort of labor. The young gentlemen themselves were evidently conscious of their dignity and independence ; for they aimed more at amusement than improvement ; feeling, like the noblemen of the middle ages, that they were born to consume the fruits of other men's labors, and that learning, which was well enough for clergymen, lawyers and

leeches, was beneath their high-born dignity. Hence they, and others of meaner birth, betook themselves to idleness and disorder, to rioting in the streets,—to drinking, quarreling and fighting,—to low and dirty mischief. Some of the most disorderly of these *renowners*, as the Germans call such characters, were suspended or dismissed. The next session the number was smaller, and their quality, we infer, a shade better. For several subsequent years the number varied from 60 to 30 or 40. In general, up to the year 1836, there was a sort of periodical flux and reflux in the number of students; a full year, like a gorged stomach, was apt to produce disorders; but then the diminished number was usually of the better sort, or at least experienced less plethora and fever in the body academic, and thus in time redeemed somewhat the character of the institution, and attracted an increase of number.

Hitherto the students had not objected—at least they had not refused—to give testimony on the trial of a fellow-student for an alleged or suspected violation of college law. But about this time they began to do what was worse, when called on as witnesses, and that was to prevaricate for the purpose of screening the guilty. Like the Irish *gentleman* who stole the “nasty poker,” their *honor* bound them to lie.

The disorderly and vicious were now powerful enough to overawe those who might be disposed to testify against them; and the members of their own party, when called on to testify, as they often would be, were interested to establish the principle, that honor required them to lie in each other's behalf.

However this may be, the frequency of false testimony was such that the board, in 1806, passed an order that every student found guilty of falsifying or prevaricating in his testimony should be expelled. But this did not cure the evil, which gradually spread, until at last it was found useless, in certain cases, to call upon those who knew the facts, to bear witness. The truth could rarely be extracted from those who were most likely to know of secret misdemeanors, acts of mischief, and scurvy tricks. The orderly and moral part of the students rarely knew anything of such matters, and when they happened to be cognizant of them, the faculty often spared them the odium of testifying the truth, when the others would not only prevaricate themselves but perse-

cute the honest witness. By 1830, the principle prevailed, that no student would testify at all against another student, except in cases wherein the students had a fight or quarrel among themselves, and the only question was which of the two parties was in the wrong. The influence of the disorderly at length established the ultimate principle of *honor*, as it was called, that every student was bound by all means to screen his fellow-student, who might be violating the laws, from detection and punishment, by warning him, hiding him, and taking his part against any officer that might be endeavoring to discover the offender.

This principle is founded on the false assumption, that the officers and students of a college are antagonistic parties, and that every act of discipline is a wrong done to the whole body of the students.

This result has grown out of the system of lodging all the students together, and apart from the rest of society, and thus giving rise to the strong *esprit de corps* that exists in all colleges, to some extent, but most in those in which the students are most closely and exclusively associated. Yet, as before observed, the evils resulting from this system should be borne, rather than the worse evil of exposing youth of sixteen or eighteen years, unguarded, to the temptations of a town.

The false principle of honor just mentioned has made a number of precautionary regulations and restrictions necessary to the preservation of good order and morals in college. Much less liberty can be allowed to students when they make themselves the guardians and partisans of every offender, than might be allowed if they acted upon the principle, that violations of law ought to be discountenanced, and, as in civil society, testimony either to exculpate or to convict ought to be given truly, when one is on trial for an offence.¹

An old source of disorder and trouble was the steward's table. When many students eat together, especially by compulsion, as when they are obliged to board with a steward, some of them are

¹The public sentiment of the students of Washington and Lee University is now so strongly on the side of law and order, that the vulgar disorders which formerly plagued the institution would not be tolerated by the young gentlemen. Even the poor little tricks of the current period will gradually disappear before the frown of the well-bred college community.—W. H. R.

always disposed to be rude and disorderly ; complaining of the fare, snatching at the choice dishes and wasting the provisions. They get into the habit too of gulping and devouring with a swinish haste and voracity. Even in the presence of officers and under the strictest regulations there will be more or less misbehavior. To avoid complaints and insults, the steward is sometimes induced to add something to the prescribed bill of fare. But as this detracts from his profits, he then asks for an addition to the price of boarding. Thus it happened that in 1807 the price was raised from 38 to 40 dollars per session of five months. Still, Morrison, who had been steward since 1804, resigned his office in the fall of 1807, and no successor could be obtained. Several private families then took boarders on the same terms as were offered to a steward.

The students being now distributed among several houses in small parties and according to their choice, were less rude and disorderly ; yet good manners did not prevail when they ate apart from the families with whom they boarded.

The worst consequences of this private boarding were that the fare became more luxurious, and the price of boarding higher, from year to year. It was hard to please the boarders without feeding them delicately. The houses which gave the most luxurious fare got the most patronage, and indemnified themselves for the increased expense of their table by increased charges for boarding. By the year 1817 or 1818 the price of board had risen from 8 to 11 dollars a month. Then the students, like Dives, "fared sumptuously every day." But this pleased them much better than it pleased their parents, who had to pay for their delicate living, and it was particularly hard on poor young men (generally the best students) who cared more for their heads than their stomachs, and could ill afford to pay so dearly for their food.¹

¹ It is wise in college authorities to arrange, if possible, some plan by which young men of small means will not be balked in their efforts to obtain a liberal education. Such has always been the disposition and effort of this institution. —W. H. R.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DONATION OF THE CINCINNATI SOCIETY ; AND THE
PARTIAL LOSS AND FINAL RECOVERY OF THE FUND.

We have now reached an important event in the history of Washington Academy. It is the Resolution of the Cincinnati Society of Virginia, to bestow their funds on the institution which their illustrious chief had endowed. This society, as is well known, was composed of the officers of the Revolutionary army, and was to expire with them. In the twenty-five years since the close of the war, many of them had finished their earthly course, and declining years admonished the survivors that their association would soon live only in history.

On the 16th day of December, 1807, the Society met and adopted the following resolutions :

“ *Resolved*, that when the Society shall be so reduced by death or removal as to prevent a general meeting of the same, for the space of three years, to commence on the 4th day of July of the next year, it shall be the duty of such members of the standing committee as shall be in being at the termination of the said three years, to declare that the difficulties contemplated by the 12th section of the Constitution, have occurred ; and after such declaration by the said members of the committee, and not sooner, the following ultimate disposition shall take effect.

“ *Resolved*, that the whole of the funds be presented to the seminary of learning denominated Washington Academy, near the town of Lexington, in the county of Rockbridge, as an endowment of the said seminary as now constituted, and in like manner in any future elevation of its character, *on this express condition*, that there shall be established and continued in the said seminary *a military school, in which shall be taught (at least) the sciences of fortification and gunnery.* In failure of this condition, the said funds shall be vested in the commonwealth, to be applied by the legislature in like manner, on like conditions and for the same object, to some other seminary. Provided always that whenever such transfer of the funds shall take place, all existing pensions which may have been charged thereon shall continue so charged, and shall be secured to be paid, according to the terms of the respective grants.

“Resolved, that the General Assembly shall be solicited to pass a provisional law for the purpose of carrying into effect in due time the preceding resolutions.

“Resolved, that the standing committee is hereby authorized and required to use its best endeavors to obtain from the General Assembly the law aforesaid, and that counsel be consulted thereupon.”

Such was the disposition which the Society resolved at that time to make of its funds.

On application, the General Assembly passed the provisional law spoken of in the two last resolutions, on the 5th of February, 1814. It was entitled “An act authorizing the treasurer of the commonwealth to receive into the treasury the funds of the Cincinnati Society, for the purposes therein expressed.”

The act provided, 1st, that the treasurer should receive the funds into the treasury of the commonwealth, upon the terms and for the objects specified in the above resolutions of the society, and subject to their order; and 2d, that the treasurer should pay the pensions charged on the funds, and other demands of the society, to the amount of the annual interest of the funds.

It was not until 1824 that the Society was so nearly extinct as to induce the Secretary, Maj. James Gibbon, to deposit the funds in the hands of the treasurer under the authority of this law. Not long afterwards the treasurer, Jerman Baker, failed, and on an examination of his accounts it appeared that somewhat more than the half of the Cincinnati funds were missing. He being insolvent, and having moreover committed suicide, his securities were sued on behalf of the commonwealth. The case was taken to the Court of Appeals, where it lingered for many years; and when at last in 1846 a final judgment was obtained against the securities,¹ the General Assembly released them from the interest which in so long a time had accrued upon the original defalcation. Then the trustees of Washington College, who had entitled themselves to the fund by a compliance with all the conditions of the donations, brought suit against the commonwealth for the whole, with interest; and having obtained a judgment for the same, they at length,

¹ See the case of *Wilson et als. vs. Burfort, Treasurer*, 2 Grattan's Reports, 134. —Eds.

in the present year, 1848, were enabled to obtain this valuable fund, amounting to about 25,000 dollars, for the college.

As early as the year 1822, before the funds of the Cincinnati Society were deposited in the public treasury, Judge Brooke, a member and vice-president of the society, addressed the following letter¹ to Col. John Bowyer, a delegate from Rockbridge to the Legislature :

January 11, 1822.

• *Dear Sir,—*

“The Society of the Cincinnati is, I think, fast approaching its natural dissolution, and I think it would be well to anticipate the period at which its funds are to belong to the college at Lexington, according to its resolution; which, whatever may be my own opinion, there is no prospect of changing to effect; though it might be required of the college to institute a class, in which the general outlines of the Mathematical Studies in Military Science should be taught, and also in which some student should be bound to deliver an oration on the character of the institution, and of those who belong to it, in vindication of its motives, against the writers in Europe and America who have mistaken them. Upon these terms, and upon a proper application by the trustees of the college, I am of opinion that the funds might be immediately turned over, subject to the present annuities of sundry pensioners provided for by the institution.

“Yours with respect, &c.,

“COL. JOHN BOWYER.

“FRANCIS T. BROOKE, V. P.”

¹ The original is on file. See papers Cincinnati Society, No. 14.

Concluding Note.

Although in his last chapter the author follows the donation of the Cincinnati Society up to its full realization in 1848, the general history of the institution ends with the year 1806. At that time, the faculty consisted of four instructors including the president (rector); and the students all told did not reach forty. The present site of the institution had shortly before been taken possession of, and two good brick buildings (now gone) had been erected, and were in use. Every structure now on this thirty acres is of subsequent date.

The discontinuance of the history is to be accounted for by the resignation of President Ruffner, in 1848, his removal from the sources of information, and his nervous debility. He left, however, copious memoranda of the long period of his own connection with the institution, beginning in 1812 and ending in 1848, with a break of four or five years between 1813, when he received the bachelor's degree, and 1818, when he took the chair of languages. But these notes were not intended for publication, and could only be used as authority for such historical facts as would interest the public.

The Preface of the History of the College shows that the author had acceded to the request of the editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the accomplished John R. Thompson, to furnish the document for publication; but I think it was never published—for what reason, I know not. The author died in 1861, and left the manuscript among his papers. It was finally presented to Washington and Lee University a few years ago.

It is to be hoped that the eventful history of this now distinguished and wealthy institution will soon be continued by some competent hand.—W. H. R.



WASHINGTON COLLEGE, LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA.

This article was written by SAMUEL L. CAMPBELL, M. D., an alumnus and for many years a trustee of the institution, and was published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in June, 1838. He was born near Mount Pleasant, and lived at Rock Castle, three miles west of Lexington, where he died in 1840.—Eds.

About threescore years ago, the Hanover Presbytery (at that time the only Presbytery in Virginia), taking into consideration the low state of literature in this commonwealth, conceived a project of establishing a seminary of learning in the upper country. They wisely concluded that such an establishment in the limestone valley would afford to all classes an opportunity of acquiring a liberal education, thereby rendering unnecessary the inconvenience and extra expense of resorting to northern colleges. In accordance with these views, the Presbytery appointed agents to solicit and receive donations, and trustees to carry their plans into execution. It was readily foreseen that the times were unfavorable for making collections of money for any public purpose. The whole valley was, comparatively, a new settlement, hitherto a frontier, often subjected to Indian depredations and to draughts on the militia for protection. This checked population, and retarded enterprise and improvements, and whatever might contribute to the wealth of the country.

The Presbytery, however, considering the necessity of the case, thought that something might be done ; and on making the experiment something was done. The trustees soon determined to erect a building ; and the site chosen was in a grove, on the summit of

Timber-ridge, about one mile northwest of the present village of Fairfield. Here, on either side, was a delightful prospect of a picturesque country. The situation afforded plenty of firewood; timber sufficient for building, and good water convenient; and was very appropriately denominated Mount Pleasant. It was encircled by a numerous population. By contributions from the vicinity, of labor, &c., a building was soon reared. I will not here stop to describe the materials of which it was composed; its dimensions or proportions; its ornaments or orders of architecture—suffice it to say, that it blended comfort and convenience with cheapness, and was sufficiently large for present purposes.

A teacher was now employed. The first whose name I remember was William Graham. He was a graduate of Nassau Hall, during the administration of the celebrated Doctor Witherspoon. Mr. Graham came to this country with the character of a gentleman of genius, scholarship, and piety, which character he supported through life.

A number of students from this and the neighboring counties now resorted to Mount Pleasant. In a short time a very respectable grammar school was formed. This was the first germ of Washington College.

The ability of the preceptor, the industry, proficiency and decorous demeanor of the students, soon gave *éclat* to the institution. The neighborhood viewed this novelty, a Latin School, as it was called, as an important acquisition to the country. I happened at Mount Pleasant during Mr. Graham's superintendence. It was noon, the hour of recreation. Here was seen a large assemblage of fine, cheerful, vigorous looking youth, apparently from ten to twenty years of age. They were mostly engaged in feats of strength, speed or agility; each emulous to surpass his fellows in those exercises for which youth of their age generally possess a strong predilection. Presently the sound of a horn summoned all to the business of the afternoon. The sports were dropped as by magic. Now you may see them seated singly or in pairs, or in small groups, with book in hand, conning over their afternoon's lesson. One portion resorted immediately to the hall, and, ranging themselves before the preceptor in semi-circular order, handed him an open book containing their recitation. He seemed not to

look into the book, and presently closed it ; thinking, as I supposed, that he knew as well as the book. Of the recitation I understood not a syllable ; yet it was highly agreeable to the ear, sonorous and musical ; and although more than sixty winters have rolled away since that time, the impressions then made have not been entirely effaced from my memory. I have since discovered that the recitation was a portion of that beautiful Greek verb, *τύπτω* ; in which the sound of the consonants *pi, tau, mu, theta*, predominate. It was observable that, during the recitation, the preceptor gave no instruction, corrected no errors, made no remarks of any kind. He seemed to sit merely as a silent witness of the performance. The class itself resembled one of those self-regulating machines of which I have heard. Each member stood ready, by trapping and turning down, to correct the mishaps and mistakes of his fellows ; and as much emulation was discovered here as had been an hour before, on the theatre of their sports in their athletic exercise. Since that day I have often thought that emulation would be a noble engine in the hands of a skilful teacher. It excites attention, creates accuracy and promptitude, and gives zest and variety to subjects otherwise dry and jejune. During this recitation an incipient smile of approbation was more than once observed on the countenance of the preceptor, maugre his native gravity and reserve. This happened when small boys, by their superior scholarship, raised themselves above those who were full grown. This class having gone through, several others, in regular order, presented themselves before the teacher and passed the ordeal. The business of the afternoon was closed by a devotional exercise. And now, the whole number, without delay, issuing from the hall, spread themselves over the area before the door, each conversing with much glee with those nearest to him ; then, hastening homewards, each took off his several way to some of the farm houses, which furnished them refectories and dormitories ; and the shadows of the evening lengthening fast, I, too, hied me home, much gratified and not a little disappointed. The systematic order of the place struck my attention. A signal called the whole school together ; a signal announced the hour of recitation ; each class was summoned to its recitation by a signal. These signals were obeyed without delay—and without noise. The students might pursue

their studies in the hall or the open air as pleased them best. Talking or reading aloud was not permitted in the hall, except to the class reciting. The dignity of the preceptor and his well-known fitness for the station, gave him respectability, and he was respected. Before this day I had thought the course pursued in this Latin School resembled the common English schools with which I had been acquainted.

*"Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus hœdos
Noram, sic parvis componere magna solebam."*

But I now saw that the order and discipline of the former were essentially different from the noise, confusion and turmoil of the latter.

Fifty or sixty years after this, and but a few years ago, in passing near to Mount Pleasant I turned out of my way to see this quondam seat of the muses. It was soon found and readily recognized. The building and grove have entirely disappeared. No hedge or railing encloses the area. Neither the strength of man nor the labor of the ox—neither the harrow nor the crooked plough—have subdued the soil. It appears an entire desolation. The elevated position, however, affords the same grand and delightful prospect, and might give employment to the pen or pencil of an artist. I felt myself on classic ground.

Here Washington College drew its first breath. On this spot, Mount Pleasant, commenced the establishment of a seminary of learning. A few obscure clergymen, without political power, and, in those days of skepticism, possessing very little personal influence; without pecuniary resources, other than what might be expected from the voluntary contributions of a newly settled mountainous district of country; in perilous times, too, when the Indians behind and the British before, threatened to devour with open mouth; under all these appalling circumstances, these few men Todd, Brown, Waddell, and their associates, relying on the favor of heaven, began the work, persevered and succeeded. They have long since slept with their fathers; and, were this benevolent work alone known of them they would merit the grateful remembrance of the present and future generations. The trustees, too, were important auxiliaries in the same work. Most of them continued

in office during life. Some of them, I think, for more than half a century. They too, have gone the way of all flesh.

While remaining here I called to mind the numerous population which once encircled Mount Pleasant, and which, in various ways, contributed to the advancement of the seminary; and I asked myself, where are they all now? Where are the Willsons, Blackburns, Browns, Scotts, the Greenlees, McDowells, McClungs, Pattons and Pattersons? Where are they now? Gone to the land of forgetfulness! As whilst a tempest, sweeping through an ancient forest, uproots and rends from its base the growth of ages, if we look abroad we behold but one universal ruin and desolation. Yet, when the wind has subsided, the clouds have dispersed, the war of elements has ceased, and the heavens have become serene, we may, here and there, descry a sturdy oak, scathed indeed, stripped of its foliage and despoiled of its beauty, the trunk yet standing and retaining the principle of vitality—so of that numerous population, of various ages, character and pursuits, which once encircled the spot where I now am. A few, very few, indeed, children of another century, may, by careful inquiry, be discovered, far dispersed from each other, with hoary heads and furrowed cheeks, their steps marked with imbecility and decrepitude, having advanced far down the vale of life, and still progressing with accelerated speed, destined soon to join, in the land of silence, their former associates. The students, too, that lovely band of youth, whom, long since, I saw animating the scenes around Mount Pleasant with youthful sports and jocundity; whose countenances beamed with health and intelligence, the joy and hope of their parents and their country; and in whom those hopes were not disappointed; they, too, have felt the tempest. They, too, have bowed to the King of Terrors. Yet a single exception to this may even now be found.¹ I wish I could recollect the names of all the students of that primary school. Priestly, Mitchel, Hoge, Stuart, Blackburn, McClung, the Willsons, Browns and Breckenridges, were of the number. These entered on a classical course about the same time, and were contemporaries on the stage of public life. Several of them became practising attorneys. Two

¹ The Rev. James Mitchel, of Bedford, Virginia.

of them held seats on the bench of justice in the superior courts of law ; four have been members of State Legislatures ; four, of the Congress of the United States. One was called to preside over the important interests of a college ; and one, in diplomatic capacity, to superintend our national interests at the court of Versailles. Besides, several of these have at different times received appointments by authority of the state, to manage special important trusts in behalf of the commonwealth. I think it may be safely said, that no one of these was ever charged, or chargeable, with delinquency in their important trusts, either through want of talents, or want of fidelity. A parallel to this can hardly be found ; that twelve young men commencing a course of learning about the same time, should all appear in after life with so much respectability in the public estimation ; and these, too, not selected ; but taken, as it might be said, at random.

By this time my travelling companion became impatient, and manifested by gestures easily understood his willingness to be unmoored and to leave this desolate place. I mounted, gave him the rein, and pursued my journey, ruminating much on former days, on scenes of childhood and youth ; on my cotemporaries, the companions of my youth—how few of them now survive ! and how many of those by far my juniors, have gone the way of all flesh ! I thought, too, of the brevity of human life, composed of a few short periods—youth, maturity and decay ; and these followed by death and dissolution ; and these few periods replete with toil and pain, losses and disappointments. What caducity in human affairs ! What a perplexing maze is the life of man ! To what a shadowy, precarious, evanescent state of being is he consigned ! Might he not have been created exempt from evil ? or, if evil must be, might he not have been gifted with those faculties, which would have enabled him to foresee and avoid it, successfully to resist and overcome ? Or, could he not have been elevated to a station more congenial to the dignity of his intellectual character, where pursuits of a nobler kind might have led to permanent and substantial felicity ? Here some superior being twitched my ear and checked my arrogance. “ Man,” said he, “ forms a part of an immense system of being. The great Creator endowed him with those faculties ; placed him in that station, and subjected him to

those laws which he saw right and proper. Would'st thou, O mortal, alter the established order of things? Canst thou, who arose into being but yesterday, and to-morrow must return to thy mother earth;—frail, weak and erring creature, possessing but five scanty inlets of knowledge; resident in a remote corner of the universe, with but a speck of creation subject to your vision—can you, I say, scan the operations of the Almighty? Can you fathom the depths of the wisdom of his counsel? Would you sit in judgment on his doings? rejudge his justice, or reverse his decisions? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus?

Presumptuous man, wouldst thou the reason find,
Why formed so weak, so little and so blind?
First, if thou canst, the harder reason guess,
Why formed no weaker, blinder and no less.
He, who through vast immensity can pierce,
Can tell why Heaven has made man as he is.

Silence, submission and acquiescence become the creature." I stood reprov'd. I was dumb; I opened not my mouth. "For your consolation let me inform you," subjoined he, "that the life of man, though short, is long enough for all the purposes of life, provided the time thereof be judiciously economized in accordance with the laws which a wise and beneficent Creator has given him for the regulation of his conduct; and this will lead to perpetuity of bliss." Here my monitor very unceremoniously withdrew. I had now arrived, almost unconsciously, at the dwelling of an old acquaintance. On entering, I was kindly saluted; many friendly inquiries and professions of regard succeeded, which were followed by an interesting conversation, in which every member of the cheerful family seemed willing to bear part. The conversation was not the less interesting on account of its being free from ceremony and constraint. Now the sombre train of my thoughts, which, erewhile, had held me in durance, was broken, and I soon became light-hearted and buoyant as a prisoner bird just escaped from its cage. But we have wandered far from our subject—let us return.

The seminary remained but for a few years at its first location. Land was procured by the trustees, and buildings prepared on a larger scale, about six miles south of Mount Pleasant, at Timber

Ridge meeting-house. The seminary had now obtained the name of Liberty Hall ; and a law was enacted by the legislature entitled, "An act to incorporate the Rector and Trustees of Liberty Hall Academy." Mr. Graham had been employed to travel northward to solicit donations. He went, I believe, as far as Boston. I have never heard precisely the amount of his collections ; but it is probable that the lands purchased, the buildings prepared, and some expensive instruments procured about this time, were paid for, at least partly, from this source. Among the instruments were, an air-pump, an electric-machine, a sextant, microscope and telescope, a set of large maps, a pair of ten or twelve-inch globes, together with a number of valuable books, the beginning of a library.

Lexington was established as the county town of Rockbridge in 1779. The academy was removed from Timber Ridge, I think, soon afterwards to a situation nearly a mile west of this town. Here a frame building was erected, in which the business of instruction was continued for a number of years. During the Revolutionary war, the confusion and embarrassment, public and individual, had so deranged all business that every resource of the academy was cut off, and many of its friends began to despair of its longer existence. This war had been waged for national independence ; and all the resources of the country, all its energies, physical and intellectual, were required, and also the services of every man—no one was exempt. The clergy, indeed, were exempted by law ; but they did not exempt themselves. They, laying aside the badge of their order, assuming the habiliments, and girding on the armor of the soldier, marched to the tented field, or to the field of battle. Mr. Graham, himself a clergyman as well as principal of Liberty Hall, is known to have volunteered his services, on a pressing occasion, in concert with other volunteers, who, being destitute of officers, appointed him their captain, and marched to meet the enemy. The enemy had retired, and they were discharged. The students of the academy, too, were called forth in common with the other militia. On one occasion, not yet forgotten, leaving the hall of science, exchanging Hesiod and Homer for the rifle, they hastened with their associates to the headquarters of the southern army ; and, soon after arriving, were led on to battle. Placed in open ground, they faced the British regulars for hours together,

contending with chivalrous bravery for the mastery of the field, alternately advancing or retreating, as the rifle or the bayonet prevailed. But war did not endure forever. The halcyon days of peace returned. The cruel instruments of Mars were laid aside, and the implements of husbandry and the arts were resumed. The doors of Liberty Hall were again thrown open, and students resorted thither in greater numbers than at any former period. Efforts were now made for their accommodation. A large stone building was erected, capable of accommodating forty or fifty students; also a refectory.

Mr. Graham now resumed the business of the academy, over which he had heretofore watched with parental care and solicitude. He had led it cautiously and tenderly through many difficulties to a certain stage of its existence. Besides the labor of teaching and governing, there devolved upon him the task of planning buildings; making contracts with the workmen; attending to the faithful execution of the contracts; the devising ways and means for fulfilling those engagements; and, in a word, all that was to be done for the academy fell chiefly on him. But the want of funds was now severely felt. Some, which had been possessed, were lost through the deception of a paper currency. The embarrassed state of the country precluded at present all hopes of procuring others.

Having superintended the academy for twenty or twenty-five years with great fidelity, Mr. Graham, now past the meridian of life, his strength worn down by age and toil, and seeing his labors continually increasing, without any prospect of assistance, resigned his charge into the hands of its guardians, the trustees. During this long period he had, for the most part, performed all the duties in person, which in other public seminaries are confided to a faculty consisting of several professors. He not only gave instruction in the scientific and classical departments, but paid special attention to the grammar school. "Here," said he, "should be laid a substratum on which to build a superstructure of learning." Amidst all discouragements he had always entertained the most sanguine expectations that the academy would one day become an important and useful seat of learning.¹

¹ A gentleman of Kentucky, Col. W. McKee, who formerly resided in this county, and who long acted as a trustee of the academy, expressed himself thus in a letter to a friend—"I rejoice to hear that Gen. Washington has placed Liberty

The prospects of Liberty Hall were now discouraging indeed. Without instructors and without funds, many of its friends thought it could no longer exist. But how inscrutable are the ways of Heaven! How short-sighted are mortals! The Father of His Country, whose mind was ever bent on promoting objects of great public utility, gave to it that pecuniary aid which insured its perpetuity; and, subsequently, the venerable Society of the Virginia Cincinnati gave the whole of their funds, amounting to sixteen thousand dollars, to promote the same object. Still more recently, the late John Robinson, of this county, did, by his last will bequeath, for the same purpose, the whole of his estate, which has since come into the possession of the trustees, and is estimated at fifty thousand dollars. The two first of these donations were the legitimate consequences of that very war which produced much public distress, and which had threatened even the existence of the academy. Mr. Robinson, it is known, had served for a length of time as a soldier during the Revolutionary war, in the northern army, where Gen. Washington commanded; and had always expressed a high respect for his character, and also for the character of the officers of the American army, especially those of the Virginia line, with many of whom he was personally acquainted. Is it not presumable then, that Mr. Robinson, in making this splendid bequest, was influenced by a laudable desire to emulate the example of those illustrious names which had preceded him in this patriotic act of benevolence? If this be admitted, it must be seen that all these benefactions were the result of the Revolutionary war.

When it had been known that Gen. Washington would endow a seminary in this valley, the trustees availed themselves of Mr. Graham's assistance to form a memorial to his excellency, which presented a short history of the academy, its funds, some account of the salubrity, fertility and population of the surrounding country. This was accompanied with a diagram of the adjacent counties, particularly noticing the relative situation of Liberty Hall,

Hall on a permanent foundation. This recalls to my mind the saying of Mr. Graham many years ago. I had often myself almost despaired of the academy, and on one occasion expressed my apprehensions to him. He in his usual concise manner replied, 'There are people working for this academy who don't know it.'

with respect to Fincastle, New London and Staunton, the only places that seemed to lay any claim to the donation. These papers were transmitted to Col. Moore, then a member of Congress. He being the representative of a district composed of several counties thought it indelicate to press the claims of any one place; and therefore merely delivered the papers. Gen. Washington soon put the matter to rest by making to Liberty Hall Academy a deed of gift of one hundred shares in the James River Company, worth, at this time, three thousand dollars per annum. The legislature of the State, at their next session, changed the name of the seminary to that of Washington Academy.

After the resignation of Mr. Graham¹ an interregnum of several

¹ Mr. Graham died about the end of the last century, at Col. Gamble's, in Richmond, whither he had gone on business. His remains were interred in the cemetery of the old church, over which a marble slab has since been laid, with his name inscribed and some particulars of his life. His talents and public services have never been estimated according to their worth. He undertook the care of the grammar school at Mount Pleasant about the beginning of the Revolutionary war, and was soon after licensed to preach the gospel by the Hanover Presbytery. This war was a period of great perplexity and distress; and its termination was followed by another of much embarrassment and a very unsettled state of things, owing to the inefficiency of the national government. The forming of a new system of government now produced general agitation. Political questions of vital importance were discussed; parties were formed, and the whole nation was thrown into a state of fermentation. During these different periods (comprising a space of fifteen or eighteen years) the interests of literature and religion were almost entirely overlooked, matters of a political nature having engrossed the general attention, the natural consequence of which was that the instructors in religion and literature themselves suffered neglect. Another period now followed still more unfavorable to the advancement and encouragement of literary men and ministers of the gospel. About the beginning of the French revolution, a flood of novel opinions and doctrines, under the name of French philosophy, were introduced and overspread the land. Foremost among these was infidelity, that deadly upas which corrupts every atmosphere where it vegetates, and poisons every fountain with which it mingles. The actors in this drama were zealous to stigmatize as fanatics, and to bring into contempt, all those who in any way lent their aid to strengthen and support those great pillars of society and civil government; and, for a time, were lamentably successful. Their doctrines, however, were not carried out in practice to the extent to which they naturally tended, and to which they had been carried in France. That devoted country had been doomed to drink the cup of bitterness in full measure. All law, authority and government; all those institutions, which the wisdom and experience of age had established for the security of life and property were torn

years took place, during which a few grammar scholars only were taught. The Rev. Geo. A. Baxter, since Dr. Baxter, was soon after this appointed president, and subsequently the stone edifice belonging to the academy was consumed by fire. The trustees then selected a location on an eminence adjoining Lexington, where buildings have since been erected. At this time, and during the whole of Dr. Baxter's presidency, the funds were incompetent to the maintenance of a sufficient number of instructors, and to meet other considerable expenditures which were found necessary for the prosperity of the institution. Nevertheless, students returned in considerable numbers, and the college was respectable during his continuance in office. He resigned his presidency about the year 1829, and Louis Marshall, M. D., of Kentucky, was appointed his successor. On his abdication, Mr. Henry Vethake, of New York, was chosen president. His inauguration took place on the 22d of

from their foundations and became one general wreck. Anarchy ensued. The lowest, most depraved and ruthless of the community were elevated and "*swam to sovereign rule on seas of blood.*" No age, sex, rank or condition was safe. The throne and the altar; the senate chamber and the seat of justice; the castle and the college; and even the prison, exhibited scenes of crime, cruelty and carnage. Ruin in his most direful form stalked with giant strides over the length and breadth of the land. When the catastrophe was finished; when the destroying angel had executed his commission; whilst he was averting his face, about to wing-his way across the vast deep to the western world, a mandate seems to have gone forth, "It is enough, stay thy hand;" and the plague was stayed. But the harbingers of the destroyer had preceded. An impulse had been given. The multitude, thoughtless of the present and regardless of the future, went with the torrent. Another class, less numerous, amazed and astonished, not knowing whence these things proceeded and whither they tended, stood aghast; whilst a still smaller class resolutely opposed this pestilential deluge, and firmly maintained those principles which observation and experience have shown to be in accordance with the best interests of man; principles which are sanctioned by divine revelation and which tend to the order of society and stability of government. Had Mr. Graham lived in other times, his talents might have been duly appreciated and his services adequately compensated. But we have seen that the whole of his public life, thus far, had been embarrassed by a want of that support which was necessary to his own comfort and the success of his public labors. The delusions of infidelity added new difficulties. He suffered, however, only in common with many others. All similarly circumstanced suffered more or less. A signal example of this kind may be found in the case of the Rev. James Wad-dell, D. D., who was cotemporary with Mr. Graham, and both ministers of the Presbyterian denomination. His piety was not doubted. His intellectual attain-

February, 1835, and in consequence of his resignation, the Rev. Henry Ruffner was elected president, and inaugurated the 22d of February, 1837.

Thus we have traced this seminary for more than threescore years—from a grammar-school to an academy, and from an academy to a college.

“So slow the growth of what is excellent;
So hard to attain perfection in this nether world.”

We see that in all its different stages and stations; in all its fortunes and misfortunes; during all the administrations under which it existed, it is the same individual seminary—its personal identity is manifest.¹

Our narrative has now come to a close; and although it must stop here, we trust and believe that Washington College will progress and prosper until it equals or surpasses all other kindred

ments were of a superior order. He possessed also impressive and commanding powers of eloquence. This was not the flash of a lively imagination. It was not like those evening coruscations which dazzle for a moment and then disappear, leaving the dimness of twilight more visible. It was calm, dignified and sometimes sublime. It was the effusion of a vigorous, discriminating and comprehensive mind, contemplating with emotion grand and interesting subjects, and portraying upon the minds of the audience its own vivid impressions. Dr. Wadell resided for many years in a central part of the state, not far distant from its capital. He had the care of some congregations in the vicinity of his own residence, where he performed his official duties till old age and blindness came upon him. He was well known to his clerical brethren and a few others of distinction who had learned his worth, and who sought his acquaintance and friendship. Yet it is believed that in those degenerate times he was never invited to a higher station, where his talents might have become more conspicuous, and the sphere of his usefulness more extensive. This seems the more extraordinary, as at that day there were but few preachers in Virginia, and still fewer who were respectable.

¹ Having set on foot the literary institution in the upper country, the same Hanover Presbytery, during the next year, projected a similar one in Prince Edward county, and with similar success. They applied to Nassau Hall again for an instructor. Samuel Stanhope Smith, a graduate of that college, was the first President. He, too, had profited by the teaching of Dr. Witherspoon. His successors were John Blair Smith, Archibald Alexander, Moses Hoge, ministers of the gospel; and Mr. Cushing, who has since been succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Carrol, the present incumbent. Hampden Sidney possessed the advantage of being in a more populous and wealthy country, which for many years had been free from border warfare.

seminaries of our country. This is not said through envy or bad feeling. We wish prosperity to every place in which useful learning is pursued, and that there should be no rivalry. But our belief rests upon many auspicious events and circumstances, which have attended this seminary from its origin. That it should have survived the Revolutionary war may be considered an auspicious event; but that this war should have been instrumental in promoting its greatest prosperity is very extraordinary. These donations, unsought for by the seminary, were the spontaneous bounty of benevolent individuals. We think, it may be fairly concluded, without being subjected to the charge of superstition, that these events were premonitory of the great future usefulness and celebrity of this institution.¹ Besides these events, its location promises much for its future prosperity. Situated in the centre of the largest state of the union; equally removed from the intense and long-continued cold of the northern winters, and from the tedious, sultry, enfeebling summers of the south; elevated above the region where dull and lazy streams, creeping over a flat surface, produce marshes and stagnant pools emitting those deleterious vapors which generate agues with their direful train of *asthenic* diseases, it possesses a climate mild and salubrious. Here mountain streams and mountain breezes, with mountain exercise, ensure vigorous health, a keen appetite for food, and easy digestion. All these contribute to a seasonable expansion of the different parts and powers of the youthful constitution. But it seems there must be a supply of food; and this is at hand. Good, solid, roast and boiled, with an accompaniment of esculent vegetables; also bread of several varieties, of sound materials, prepared *secundem artem*, with cheese, butter, &c., shall not be wanting; and is not this

¹ Had the writer lived thirty years later he might have seen that its "luck" did not desert the institution when again in adversity. The College emerged from the War between the States with its buildings dismantled, its library and apparatus destroyed, and its securities unproductive. War was again instrumental in promoting even greater prosperity than before. The Trustees met in the summer of 1865, and nothing appalled, pledged their private credit for the restoration of the buildings, library, and apparatus. They also called to the presidency General Robert E. Lee, who had achieved his greatest fame as the leader of the Confederate armies. This gave an impulse to the institution never equalled in its history, which has continued with enduring effect.—Eds.

quantum sufficit? Methinks these viands might satisfy an epicure. But perhaps, some fastidious stomach, vitiated by the tyrant custom, not pleased with these alpine productions, will demand foreign articles. These demands shall be met. Other climes shall be explored. The stores of the Indies shall be laid under contribution. Articles of foreign growth, leaving the place of their nativity, and travelling all the way by water, shall arrive at the very verge of Lexington without setting foot on land. Here now they are, ready for use, save only a few moments' culinary preparation. Now I have fulfilled my promise—this is the *ne plus ultra*. All the country around the college abounds with the most necessary articles of living. It has all the most useful domestic animals; all the most valuable grains, grasses and other vegetables. The materials for breadstuff are so plentiful, that after supplying the home market, a large surplus, even in the most unfavorable season, is left for exportation. The buyer here pays nothing more than the prime cost—no profit to dealers, no expense of carriage.

Other prospects, besides those already enumerated, of the future prosperity of this country, present themselves. The opening of navigable waters, improvement of roads, establishment of manufactories and the development of mineral treasures, must, before many years, have an important influence. In the mountainous country southwest of this, salt, gypsum, lead and fossil coal have been found in large quantities: the three former, in Washington and Wythe, and the latter in Botetourt county. A valuable quarry of hydraulic limestone has been found in the vicinity of Lexington, large quantities of which are now manufactured to be used by the workmen on the James River canal. Indications of coal have been discovered in various places between the Alleghany and Blue Ridge; and it is thought by many that salt and gypsum are likely to be found in the same region. All these improvements and discoveries, brought to some degree of perfection, certainly must greatly enhance the wealth and prosperity of this country, and have a most important bearing upon the interests of Washington College. In view of the available resources of our county, we think it would not be saying too much, that its wealth and population in less than a century will be tenfold. Improvements in husbandry have already commenced. These chiefly respect the

cultivation and fertilization of the soil, the rotation of crops, and the judicious selection and skilful rearing of domestic animals.

The college itself will be a source of prosperity to the country by the money which will necessarily be thrown into circulation from abroad; and thus a reciprocal influence will be exerted upon each other; for, whatever promotes the wealth and prosperity of the country, must react with a salutary influence upon the college.

By a rule of college, the students are permitted to board in private families. This is thought preferable to the practice of congregating a large number at one hotel, where freedom of speech and freedom of action often terminate in rudeness. In private families, where but few are assembled, the presence of the seniors, and especially the females, imposes a wholesome restraint. The competition of the boarding houses is a sufficient guarantee for good fare at a reasonable price.

The funds of the college have not all yet become productive. Their profits, however, have enabled the trustees to erect spacious and commodious buildings; to enlarge the philosophical, mathematical and chemical apparatus; and to constitute and maintain an able and learned faculty: these at present consist of the Rev. Henry Ruffner, President; Rev. Philo Calhoun, Professor of Mathematics; Mr. George Armstrong, Professor of Chemistry; and Mr. George Dabney, Professor of Languages. The Rev. Allen D. Metcalf conducts the grammar school attached to the college. There has also been a judicious course of study laid out for the students, which has been practised on for several years, and which it is thought could not be improved by a revision. This course comprises all the most useful branches of literature which are taught in other public seminaries. Mathematics hold a prominent place, together with those more severe studies which tend to mental discipline, and produce habits of close and accurate investigation. The ancient classics are not neglected. During a considerable part of the course the student is required to devote a portion of each day to the writings of those masters of Greece and Rome, who have so long been the admiration of the learned, and who have given to the world such fine specimens of taste and eloquence. A system of rules and regulations for the good order and govern-

ment of the institution has also been established, which experience has proved to be salutary in its operation.

And now our vessel is safely under way, with sails filled, streamers floating, gliding gallantly over the broad ocean with a strong western breeze. May all on board, fore and aft, from the captain to the cabin-boy, have good health, good cheer, and a prosperous voyage !

SENEX.

ROCKBRIDGE, VIRGINIA, *January*, 1838.



LETTER ON THE LOCATION OF ROBERT
ALEXANDER'S SCHOOL, JOHN
BROWN'S RESIDENCE AND
MOUNT PLEASANT.

BY JUDGE JAMES T. PATTON.

FAIRFIELD, ROCKBRIDGE CO., VA.
July 18, 1890.

JUDGE WILLIAM McLAUGHLIN :

Dear Sir,—In your letter to me of the 10th instant with reference to the early history of Washington and Lee University you say :

“ In a sketch of the Rev. Samuel Doak, in *Foot's History of North Carolina*, it is stated that when he was sixteen years of age (1764) he commenced a course of classical studies with Robert Alexander, who resided about two miles from his father's house. This grammar school, he says, was soon after removed two or three miles farther south, to about where the Seceder meeting house, called Old Providence, now stands. About this time the school came more immediately under the charge of the Rev. John Brown. By Mr. Brown the school was removed to Pleasant Hill, within about a mile of his dwelling, and about the same distance north of Fairfield.”

Being familiar with the section of country above alluded to, I can comply with your request to give a sketch of the locality mentioned.

The old family residence of the Doaks is about a mile southwest of the town of Greeneville in Augusta county. It is on the

line of the Valley Railroad, on the west side—now a good-sized brick house, and at present the residence of Henry Mish.

THE ALEXANDER FARM.

Following the line of the railroad some three miles south of the Doak farm you come to the old Alexander place, the mansion house of which is also of brick, and on the west side of the railroad—occupied, at present, I learn, by a Mr. Dull. It is situated in a beautiful plateau of country, not far from the dividing line between Augusta and Rockbridge, just north of the Spotswood depot. This farm remained in the possession of the Alexander family until perhaps some thirty or forty years ago.

The last owner, of the family name, was old Squire Alexander, who long served Augusta county as a most efficient magistrate. It next passed into the hands of Capt. James Allen.

The Old Providence meeting house, alluded to by Mr. Doak, is about a mile in a southwesterly direction from the Alexander house. This locality may be considered as not only notable for being the place from which emanated the germ of Washington and Lee University, but as marking the divide between the waters of the Shenandoah and James rivers, and consequently on the line of demarkation between the Borden and Beverly Manor grants.

THE RESIDENCE OF THE REV. JOHN BROWN.

Historical accounts of New Providence and Timber Ridge churches speak of the Rev. John Brown, their early pastor, as residing about midway between the two places. From family traditions I feel pretty safe in designating the locality of the Brown house.

My grandfather's farm was the only one between it and the site of the Mount Pleasant school, and I have often heard the older members of my grandfather's family speak of their former neighbor, Parson Brown.

After leaving the Fairfield depot, going south, you pass through the Brown farm. The house is of logs and is the same that was there in the days of the Rev. John Brown, but considerably dilapi-

dated in the lapse of time. It is on the north side of the railroad, just opposite high trestle work, and but a short distance from the road. This location corresponds exactly with the description by the Rev. Samuel Houston, in a letter to the Rev. James Morrison, when he writes of Mr. Brown's school, at Mount Pleasant, as being on the highest point of the Ridge, about a mile west of Fairfield, and equally distant from his house, which was situated at a like distance from Fairfield, on the same Ridge—the road to the Academy going out from the north end of the town, and that leading to his dwelling from the south end. I have no account of the immediate possessor of the Brown farm after it passed out of his hands. As far back as 1812, I am told it was owned by John Armstrong, and subsequently by his son, Quentin. It originally contained some two hundred acres. The portion of the farm embracing the old mansion house is now the property of Wm. M. Sale. This farm is about midway between New Providence and Timber Ridge churches.

MOUNT PLEASANT ACADEMY.

The Doak sketch speaks of the locality of the school as Pleasant Hill. It is more generally known as Mount Pleasant. The point is easily designated and is accurately known to me, it being within less than a quarter of a mile of the residence of my grandfather Patton. It was originally selected on the lands of Moses Wilson, one of the early settlers. The spring used for the school is on the southern slope of the ridge, embraced by the then Scott lands. The site of the house still remains in the possession of the Wilson family, being a part of the property of the late Edgar Wilson. The spring is now embraced in the premises of the late George W. Houston.

The Valley Railroad passes within a few hundred yards of this point. On the west side the railroad passenger has a full view of Mount Pleasant and its surroundings. The old foundation, or chimney stones, now lie scattered around, plowed up by the husbandman, and being all that is left to mark this ancient and venerable seat of the Muses.

The school-house was built on the top of a high ridge, from the side of which and near by a Pierian fountain of crystal water flows.

The surroundings are grand and beautiful. In the background the North Mountain affords a sublime array of scenery and lovely landscape, covering almost the entire western boundary of Rockbridge and reaching to Elliott's Knob in Augusta, some twenty miles in the distant north. On the east stretches out far to the north and south the picturesque line of the Blue Ridge, with its many bold peaks and intervening panoramic views, dotted with the towering Peaks of Otter on the south, and limited on the north only by the dim vista of the "Shenando" vale.

REMOVAL OF THE SCHOOL FROM MOUNT PLEASANT.

At the point where the Valley Turnpike crosses Timber Ridge and immediately on the southern descent there is said to have been located the first Timber Ridge church. It was a log building. Near this place is a spring, and an old grave-yard in which are enclosed a number of the graves of the old settlers. It is believed by some that this is the place to which the school was removed—about three miles south of Mount Pleasant. Dr. Foote in his *Sketches of Virginia* (page 448) states that "on Monday, May 6th, 1776, the Presbytery determined to remove the Academy from Mount Pleasant;" and that early in the year 1777 the school was removed from Mount Pleasant to Timber Ridge; and further, the Academy did not remain long at Timber Ridge—the short time of her sojourn there being disturbed by the heavings and tossings of the all-absorbing Revolution. Then from 1764 to 1777 we have the data to fix the period the school remained at Mount Pleasant.

Now, as to the diversity of opinion as to the removal of the school from Mount Pleasant to the point on the Ridge where the old church stood, or some two miles further south where the stone church now stands, I am inclined to think that it was to the latter point. The records show that the land on which the house was built was given by Captain Alexander Stuart and Mr. Samuel Houston. It is not probable those parties ever owned lands around the old log church, but we know that Houston did own land and lived at the stone church. The stone over the entrance to the present Timber Ridge church bears the date 1756, showing

that that church was built before the school was taken from Mount Pleasant. Dr. Foote further states :

"The Academy at Timber Ridge was discontinued some time in the year 1779. The meeting house near which the Academy had been built was also removed a few miles nearer Lexington, and its ancient site is known only by the old grave yard by the roadside, with a few monuments to mark the resting place of many of the pioneers of the Valley."

This discrepancy in dates, however, might be reconciled by the supposition that the date on the present stone church was made to correspond with that of the first one built.

The school seems to have been transitory for a few years after its removal from Timber Ridge until its more permanent establishment at Liberty Hall, near Lexington. In 1782 an act for incorporating the Rector and Trustees of Liberty Hall Academy was passed by the legislature. But as I infer that the application to me was only intended to obtain information as to the Alexander farm, the residence of the Rev. John Brown, and Mount Pleasant, I shall not undertake further to pursue the history of Washington College. Other pens will furnish full and perhaps more accurate information of the subsequent history of that noble and time-honored institution.

Very respectfully,

J. T. PATTON.

1

.

2

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

HISTORICAL PAPERS

No. 2. — 1890

1. THE FOUNDERS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE: AN ADDRESS BY
HON. HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, LL. D. DELIVERED JUNE
22, 1870.
 2. ADDRESS BEFORE THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON
COLLEGE, BY THE REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D.
DELIVERED JUNE 29, 1843.
-

BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.
1890.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.
1899.

PREFACE.

We now publish the address of the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL. D., on the "Founders of Washington College," delivered at the commencement on the 22nd day of June, 1870. The manuscript was retained by Mr. Grigsby for the purpose of completing it, but he died without doing so. We have added brief sketches of those omitted by him. The address is now published for the first time, and will be read with much interest by the friends of the university, and especially by the descendants of those who aided in founding this noble institution, which has attained proportions they little dreamed of.

We also publish with it the address of Dr. Archibald Alexander, delivered in 1843, which attracted so much attention when delivered and first published.

Other numbers of these Historical Papers will be published as soon as the material can be prepared.

WILLIAM McLAUGHLIN,
WILLIAM A. GLASGOW,
HENRY ALEXANDER WHITE,
Committee.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY,
October, 1890.

1

2

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

THE FOUNDERS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE: AN ADDRESS BY HON. HUGH
BLAIR GRIGSBY, LL. D., DELIVERED JUNE 22, 1870.

Introduction.....	1
Three Periods in the History of Washington College.....	2
First Settlers of the Valley.....	3
Origin of the Scotch-Irish.....	5
Influence of Knox and the Reformation on the Scotch-Irish.....	5
Emigration of Scotch-Irish to Pennsylvania.....	8
Removal thence to the Valley of Virginia.....	9
First Classical School in the Valley, 1749.....	9
First Rector of it—Robert Alexander.....	10
Rev. John Brown, second Rector.....	11
William Graham, his Assistant, 1774.....	12
Angusta Academy removed to Mount Pleasant.....	12
Trustees appointed by Presbytery.....	12
Trustees appointed under Charter of 1782	13
Gift of Washington.....	14
Sketch of William Graham... ..	14
Birth and Early Life.....	15
Determines to Study Theology.....	16
A Student at Princeton.....	16
Removes to Virginia, 1774.....	17
His Military Service.....	18
Resigns his Rectorship.....	19
Character of Graham.....	20
As Preacher.....	20
As Professor.....	21
As Politician.....	22
His Letter to Washington in behalf of Liberty Hall.....	25
His Course on Revocation of Charter of 1782.....	26

	PAGE
His Opposition to Federal Constitution.....	27
Summary	30
Sketch of John Montgomery.....	33
Sketch of James Waddell.....	34
Sketch of Rev. Charles Cummings.....	38
Sketch of Col. William Fleming.....	40
Sketch of Col. William Preston.....	44
Sketch of Col. Arthur Campbell.....	49
Sketch of Col. William Christian.....	52
Sketch of Gen. Andrew Moore.....	56
Sketch of Col. Samuel McDowell.....	63
Sketch of Gen. John Bowyer.....	68
Sketch of Thomas, Alexander and Archibald Stuart.....	70
Thomas.....	71
Alexander.....	72
Archibald.....	73
Sketch of Thomas and Andrew Lewis.....	78
Sketch of Andrew Lewis.....	81
Sketch of Samuel Lyle.....	84
Sketch of William Irwin.....	85
Sketch of Charles Campbell.....	85
Sketch of John and Samuel Houston.....	86
Sketch of Sampson Mathews.....	87
Sketch of Col. William McKee.....	88
Sketch of Col. George Moffett.....	90
Sketch of John Hays.....	91
Sketch of William Wilson.....	92
Sketch of John Wilson.....	93
Sketch of William Alexander.....	95
Sketch of Caleb Wallace.....	96
Sketch of John Trimble.....	98
Sketch of Alexander Campbell.....	98
Sketch of Zachariah Johnston.....	99
Sketch of Gen. William Campbell.....	100
Sketch of William McPheeters.....	103
Conclusion.....	104

APPENDIX.

Sketch of John Grattan.....	105
Sketch of Samuel Doak.....	106

CONTENTS.

vii

	PAGE.
Sketch of Edward Crawford.....	107
Sketch of Archibald Scott.....	108
Sketch of James McConnell.....	108
Sketch of Benjamin Erwin.....	108
Sketch of Capt. John Lewis.....	108
Sketch of James McCorkle.....	109
Sketch of Joseph Walker.....	109
Sketch of William Ward and James Trotter.....	110
Sketch of John Lyle.....	110

ADDRESS BEFORE THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, BY THE REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D., DELIVERED JUNE 29, 1843.

Education necessary.....	113
Methods of mental training.....	114
Overtraining of verbal memory.....	116
Mnemonics.....	116
Quickness of apprehension.....	117
Thirst for knowledge.....	117
Importance of classical training.....	120
Religious training.....	124
The Bible in schools.....	125
Alumni and <i>alma mater</i>	126
Importance of libraries.....	127
Sketch of Rev. William Graham.....	128
Sketch of Dr. James Priestly.....	136
Conclusion.....	137
CONCLUDING NOTE.....	138



THE FOUNDERS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

*Mr. Rector and Trustees, Mr. President and
Professors, of Washington College:*

I have come in obedience to your request to aid you in commemorating the names and services of the good and great men who were the early patrons and friends of your institution, who, as Trustees, held the reins of government, or as Professors, filled your chairs, and who in the silent lapse of generations, and under the pressure of the ever-living and engrossing present, have almost passed from human memory. Your noble design to rescue from oblivion what might yet be known of your early founders, met with a cordial response from my heart. Your trustees were among the most eminent men of the age in which they lived. They were men whose valor won fields of battle, whose voices decided the fate of the greatest political measures which preceded the Revolution of 1776, who made and ruled the Revolution itself, and who aided in devising those measures necessary to secure the blessings achieved by that event. And when asked by our children to recount their deeds, and we turn to our histories, and even to the dictionaries of biography, we find but a meagre account of any one of them, and respecting the greatest number nothing at all. The task which I have undertaken involves some toil and research, but I felt in executing it that I was performing a filial duty. For if I be not a son of the Valley, I am a grandson, and as I pass from the Natural Bridge to Lexington I can trace the early homesteads cleared from the primeval forest by the hands of my fathers, and on an eminence overlooking the road is the grave of my grand-

mother, and at Falling Spring I read the inscriptions on the tombs of my great-grandfather and great-grandmother, of uncles and aunts, and cousins of every degree ; and the cemetery of this town holds the dear ashes of my beloved kindred, and has just received the fresh dust of a dear aunt who went down to the grave at the age of 96.¹ And I felt assured in the well-known courtesy of yourself and your associates, that you would be more inclined to approve what I have done, than to blame me for what I failed to do.

The theme presents three well-defined historic periods : From 1749, the foundation of Augusta Academy—for Rockbridge had not then been set apart from Augusta—to 1782, when the charter was granted to Liberty Hall Academy ; from 1782 to 1860, the beginning of the late war ; and from 1860 to the present date.

Of these three great epochs you have assigned the first to me, and I have come to perform the office in what manner I may. And I think it just, not only to myself, but to this large and imposing auditory, to say at once that mine is not the office of the orator, but that of the historian. It is not mine to imitate the example of those who are wont to address you, on these festal days of the College, and to choose some fascinating theme from the realm of philosophy or from the kindling topics of the hour, to embellish it with flowing periods and striking illustrations, to amuse the mind with the play of logic or to regale the imagination with the creations of fancy, and to seek the applause justly accorded to him who touches the heart and fills the mind with pleasing images, and with the grace of action and with the witchery of words casts a spell not willingly to be dissolved over all who hear him. My office is strictly historical. I come to speak of the men and things of a time when forests covered nearly the whole of this beautiful and flourishing land, where so many cultivated farms delight the beholder, where so many handsome dwellings are seen, where so many human beings are gathered together, and are engaged in the various pursuits of human industry ; where a single library under the guardian care of its venerable high priest now contains more books than then existed from the Blue Ridge to the Pacific Ocean,

¹ Mrs. Martha Trimble.—Eps.

and from the Pennsylvania line to the Caribbean Sea.¹ I am come to speak of a time when the proudest building in the vast region sweeping from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi was built of logs or of rough rocks ; when the rich and the poor—if indeed the word rich can be applied to any of the brave and pious settlers of this region—lived in log cabins ; when the dwelling house, the school house and the church were log cabins ; and when this hill, now adorned with its numerous and elegant structures, and overlooking a compact and busy population, was one unbroken solitude. I come to speak of some of the men who felled those forests, who cleared these lands, who built the first churches, who opened the first schools, who laid deep in the general heart the love of letters and the fear of God, and who impressed on the minds of their children the elements of their own pure and lofty character. Let us inquire who they were ; let us follow them through their varied course ; let us observe their early and unabated efforts to build up a virtuous and enlightened State, and let us pause as we pass at their humble but honored graves, and thank God that our fathers were just such men as they were, and that their dust—ever to be approached with grateful tears and honored with the voice of praise—still reposes in our soil.

It is obvious that each of the three great periods which I have mentioned would require nearly as many hours as I have minutes at my disposal ; and it has occurred to me to be the best on the whole, after giving a synopsis of the first period, to recur to the Trustees of 1776 and those of the charter of 1782.

Before we speak of the origin of this institution, let us take a rapid glance at the character of the people who reared it, and who have made so great a figure in the Colony and Commonwealth of Virginia. They were mainly what is commonly called Scotch-Irish, and were professors of the Presbyterian faith. But who were the Scotch-Irish ? Who were the people, that, wherever they were borne on the tumultuous tides of a various and constant emigration that rolled through the channels of centuries, carried with them a stout and stalwart frame of body, a clear head, a

¹ Mr. John W. Fuller, for more than half a century librarian of the Franklin Society, in the town of Lexington.—Ebs.

physical courage that quailed not in the presence of a mortal enemy, a moral courage superior to disaster, indomitable industry, a scorn of ease, the love of letters, a thirst for freedom, and who inscribed on their banners the name of the Lord God of Hosts? To confine ourselves to the region of recorded history, we traverse a space of two thousand years, and read in the thrilling narrative of Cæsar his conflicts with the native Britons, and we take our seat in the trireme of Agricola as he coursed for the first time around the island of Britain, and gather from the pages of Tacitus the lineaments of that picture which the Roman general presented to his son-in-law, and which now thrills us with the intensity of its colors. From the Roman invasion to the date of the Norman Conquest in 1066, a period of a thousand years, both North and South Britain were subdued and overrun by the various hordes of the Scandinavian family; and as the Scottish rivers were as easily accessible by the ships of the piratical Northmen as the British, the Forth and the Tay were invaded simultaneously with the Humber and the Thames; and the names of places which were given by the Northmen still indicate the great historic era. I may mention the names of the craigs of East Binney and West Binney near the Forth, which were bestowed probably five hundred years before the Norman Conquest and still retain their Saxon inheritance. After the Norman Conquest, Scotland received a large accession of Anglo-Saxons from the South, who sought to escape the grasp of the conqueror. And thus, while the Southern part of the island was becoming modified in the course of generations by the blood and the language and the habits of the Normans, the simple Anglo-Saxon tongue and tastes prevailed in Scotland. Hence the purity of the Scotch language in its Anglo-Saxon aspect above the tongue of the English, which had become mixed with the dialects of the Latin race, and which is the boast of the Scotch to this day. I have mentioned these facts in order to set aside the common error of regarding the Scotch as wholly Celtic or Ancient British, instead of being in the main a component part of the Anglo-Saxon family.

The history of Scotland from the first landing of the Anglo-Saxons to the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots,—an interval of more than fifteen hundred years—presents the saddest portraiture of ignorance and blood and rapine and violence, variegated indeed

at intervals with passages of extraordinary splendor, which the historic muse ever drew for the warning and instruction of mankind. It was a scene of perpetual war—war within and war without. Its chiefs after the Conquest were Normans, such as Bruce, Wallace, Randolph, Campbell, Maxwell and the Stuarts ; and they assumed a jurisdiction little less than kingly. Even the present Queen of England, though she succeeded to the crown on the right of her Scotch ancestors, has in her veins the blood of William the Norman. Feuds existed for generations, and were handed down with the sword and the helmet of the ferocious ancestor. This pugnacious trait of the Scotch receives an illustration from the name of Blair, which signifies an open place ; but as every open place in the course of centuries had been the scene of a desperate rencounter it came to mean a field of battle.

Now the grave question arises, how from such a people, whose hands were stained by the gore of two thousand years, could spring that type of character which we call Scotch-Irish ? How could spring a people, who as we know them, have ever built in the same enclosure the fortress, the school house and the church ; who, during the succession of more than two centuries have held the sword in one hand, the Bible in the other ; whose valor subdued the foe in the open field and in the recesses of the forest, and whose piety filled their humble temples and homesteads with prayer and praise ? What produced so great a transformation in the character of the Scotch ?

One great era wrought the change and one master spirit ruled the decisive hour. That era was the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, that master-spirit was John Knox. That tall, gaunt man, sprung from the people, without a dollar of income save from a miserable stipend, surrounded by warlike nobles who were insensible to religious appeals, so unterrified by authority that it was said over his corpse by the regent Morton, "There lies one who feared the face of no man living,"—this man assailed the supremacy of that venerable religion whose foundations were laid deep in the old past, whose subjects were kings, and whose power, consolidated by the respect and piety of ages, embraced the entire realm of Christianity. Let us not be unjust to the Catholic Church. It unquestionably exerted a beneficial influence for many

centuries on the Scotch people. Apart from its invaluable services in preserving the records of the past, and in fostering a taste for letters, it was the only source whence, during the dreary millennium of the Middle Ages, the blessings of Christianity were conveyed to the people. It presented the only curb to the despotism of the feudal system, and softened its atrocities. It was kind to the peasant, and in his defence placed its finger not unfrequently on the crest of the haughtiest baron, and laid on monarchs the weight of its hands. In the valleys of Scotland that church raised those stately cathedrals whose very ruins excite the awe of the modern traveller, and even in the distant Hebrides it reared its magnificent structures, and on their altars kindled a flame that shone far and wide over those stormy seas; and the iron kings of Northern Europe beheld it and trembled, and with their dying aspirations implored that their bones might repose in the crypts of the temple of Iona.

It was during the fearful conflict with this church that the Scotch character was developed such as we have known it since. Intelligence is the soul of Protestantism; for it is needful first to know what a thing is, before we essay to make it what it ought to be. Hence the Scotch reformers taught their flocks with an earnestness and ruled them with a rigor unknown in our times. But Knox well knew that generations, however enlightened, pass away, and that Protestantism would pass with them unless the young were instructed with care in the rudiments of knowledge and in the doctrines of the faith. Hence the zeal of Knox in obtaining from the Scotch Parliament that ever memorable act which required a school to be kept in every parish, and which gave a new direction to the fervid genius of the people.

Both local and general causes stimulated the feelings and intensified the enthusiasm of the people. It was declared by a high authority that the Presbyterian form of government was the model of the purest republican simplicity, and that it was hostile to the genius of a monarchical system. The origin of the Reformation in Scotland also differed essentially from the origin of the Reformation in England. In the latter it proceeded from the King; in the former from the people. James, accordingly, on ascending the British throne made an early effort to remodel the Presbyterian

church. Then came in due succession the appointment of the thirteen Bishops, the assertion of the King to convoke at pleasure the General Assembly of the church, the banishment of one of the Melvilles and the imprisonment of the other, the Five Articles of Perth, and the Act of Uniformity. These and similar measures wrought the people to madness. And in the midst of this excitement was passed by the Scotch Parliament the Act of Security for the military organization of the realm, which made the people of Scotland a regulated army. Then look at the civil and religious contests of the reign of Charles the First, and the Protectorate. Look at the bloody persecutions of the Restoration, and especially during the viceroyalty of the Duke of York, when not less than 20,000 men, women, and we might add children, were put to death in a time of profound peace on account of religious nonconformity; and the earlier and the later emigrations to Ireland, where the colonists were beleagured by a hostile church, and a hostile population. Thus from the period of the Reformation to the date of the departure of the Scotch-Irish for the shores of the New World, a period of a century and half, while the Scot clung to the Bible as the sheet-anchor of his faith, the fleshly weapon was rarely out of his hand; and it was during this long and terrific struggle that the Scotch character was developed such as we have known it since.

In the early part of the 18th century, there came a pleasing vision over the minds of the Scotch-Irish. They had ever been devoted to the employments of rural life, and to the doctrines of political and religious freedom, at least for themselves. They hailed with one accord the Revolution, which they termed glorious, and which placed William and Mary on the British throne. They cherished the tenderest affection for the House of Hanover, as did their descendants of Augusta down to our own Revolution, as their public documents of that period demonstrate. But during the reign of Queen Anne, and of the first and second Georges, though active persecution on the part of the British government no longer existed, the Scotch-Irish felt the cinctures of a religious policy that bound them severely. They were encompassed by the Catholic pale, by the pale of an established Protestant church to which they did not belong and which they were compelled to support, and by laws that bound the soil in perpetual entail; and they resolved to

go abroad. They had heard the history of the land of Penn. They were fascinated by reports of a vast territory resting on the sea in the East, and on a majestic river in the West, abounding in fertile valleys, in mountains that would remind them of their ancestral land, in mighty streams and bays penetrating into the recesses of the distant interior, and they heard, above all, of the glorious liberty of worshipping God without the interference of human authority. And they flocked by hundreds to the shores of the New World. It was vain to talk to them of savages. For two thousand years the Scotchman had rarely been without a weapon on his person or within his grasp. Fearlessly they plunged into the depths of the forests, settled farms, built forts and school houses and churches, and presented a formidable barrier to the progress of the Indian invader.

Such a population it ought to have been the pride of Pennsylvania to foster and increase. But in the progress of years there arose in that province a struggle for political power; and it was feared that the Scotch-Irish and the German immigrants would outnumber or control the proprietary element; and the results were taxes on immigrants, which were opposed by the cautious and far-seeing Franklin, a shameful and degrading inequality of representation in the Assembly, and a failure on the alleged ground of principle to protect the outer settlements from the ravages of the Indians. And thus the emigration to Virginia began and was quickened. To learn what the character of the Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania was, what those people did to build up a great commonwealth in all the elements of knowledge, wealth and piety, we need only recall the names of those who distinguished themselves during the eighteenth century. What an instructive list is spread before us! Tennent and that log college that has done more to enlighten the human mind and to promote sound morals than the noble structure of Magdalen or of Christ's, whose towers have been pointing for centuries to the skies; Samuel Blair, Samuel Davies, who, though born in Delaware, was educated by Blair, John Rodgers, John Blair, Samuel Finley, Francis Allison, Robert Smith, Samuel Stanhope Smith, John Blair Smith, James Smith, who signed the Declaration of Independence, James Ross, John Rowan of Kentucky, Thomas McKean Fulton, the ancestor of the inventor of the steam engine,

at least in its application to boats, David Ramsay, Hugh Williamson, and hundreds of others of whom I have not time to tell.

How mysterious are the ways of Providence! Had the policy of Pennsylvania been liberal, very few of the Scotch-Irish family would have left her borders. She possessed thousands of acres of fertile lands; and the clanship of the Scotch would have kept them together. And there was religious freedom, not restrained, as with us it was, by the cautious provisions of the Act of Toleration, but without bound or measure. There would have been no emigration. The Valley of Virginia would have been kept back for more than the third of a century. There would have been no people from this region to have fought at Point Pleasant, on the heights of Saratoga, or at King's Mountain, or at Guilford, or at Eutaw, or at York. That those battles were fought by the aid of Valley men we owe to the fact, that the government of Pennsylvania was proprietary, and not, like our own, governed by the immediate representatives of the King and founded on the basis of a liberal county representation.

Simultaneously with the flow of the Scotch from Pennsylvania, there was a stream of emigration from our own East. Of these immigrants some were Scotch, who, under the patronage of Dinwiddie, sought to build up homes in the Valley; and some were English, who, having early settled in the counties of the seaboard, the society of which had become somewhat stereotyped in the forms of old England, desired fresh lands, comparative freedom from taxes, and a greater enlargement of religious privileges than were readily available under the established religion. Of the English who thus entered the Valley, were my own paternal ancestors. But the Scotch-Irish element predominated, and gave its hue to the general complexion of the settlement.

We now approach an event of as great significancy as any recorded in the annals of a peaceful community. In 1749 was opened the first classical school west of the Blue Ridge. To teach the rudiments of the mother tongue, to teach the reading of the Bible, the Longer and Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Confession, those consummate achievements of human intellect, regarded only in a secular sense; to worship God in sincerity and truth—these were the first and natural impulses of a pious people.

But to mingle the music of Virgil and Horace, of Livy and Tacitus, of Homer and Sophocles, of Herodotus and Thucydides, of Demosthenes and Aeschines, with the clangor of the axe felling the forest trees, with the crack of the rifle and the yell of the Indian, and with that grander melody which flowed from the harp of the royal singer of Israel, was an event, if not wholly without precedent in the circumstances of the case, worthy of immortal praise. The site of this classical schoolhouse was two miles southwest of Greenville in Augusta, as Augusta then was, and which included Rockbridge, and its first teacher was Robert Alexander. That school was the origin of the noble institution whose massive buildings cast their shadows from this glorious eminence, whose professors have been for more than a century men of high intellect, of fervent piety, and of ardent patriotism, and whose pupils have upheld the torch of knowledge, of religion and of a generous civilization throughout our wide territory, and have shone in the sphere of private life, at the bar, in the pulpit, in the Senate, and in the courts of Europe.

And who was he who taught the infant mind to know those immortal productions of Greek and Roman genius which still surpass the finest achievements of later times, in that log house near the village of Greenville? His name was Robert Alexander. He was a man of thorough training in the schools, and he was a man of prayer. It is to the honor of the Scotch-Irish race that, as one of that family was the first to establish a classical school in the Province of Pennsylvania, so another of the race was the first to establish a classical school in the Valley of Virginia. And when I speak of that race, I wish it to be distinctly understood, that though myself Scotch on the maternal side, my ancestor, who was borne to this lovely country on the Virginia and not on the Pennsylvania stream, was English, and was sprung from an ancestor who came over to the colony at the date of the Restoration. I have already spoken of the various elements that made up the Scotch-Irish people. This is strikingly shown in the name of Alexander. It is the type of three or four distinct civilizations, which extend from the days of Homer to the present day. It recalls the palmy civilization of Greece, to which it belongs, a helper of men. From the Greek it passed into the Roman civil-

ization ; and thence it passed from the banks of the Tiber on the lips of Augustine to the banks of the English streams ; and many generations later than St. Augustine, it received a fresh introduction into Britain by the Norman, who, though originally a Northman, adopted the tongue of the Latin race. And so popular did it become in Scotland, that, as the Englishman is known by the sobriquet of John Bull, and the Frenchman by that of Johnny Crapeau, and the American by that of Brother Jonathan, so the Scotchman is known by the name of Sandy and Sawney, the popular abbreviation of Alexander.

But who was Robert Alexander ? He was a descendent in the fourth degree from that Archibald Alexander who, during the middle part of the seventeenth century, went over in a general emigration from Scotland to Ireland. A son of this Archibald had a son named William, and this William had four sons ; one of whom died, and the other three, Archibald, the grandfather of the late Archibald Alexander of Princeton, William, and Robert of whom we are now speaking, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1736, and after a short sojourn in that province, two of them, if not all, came through the Valley to Virginia in 1743. Robert was educated at Edinburgh, where the Latin and Greek classics and Mathematics were thoroughly taught, and he was probably as well qualified to discharge the duties of a professor in the languages and in mathematics as any professor in our own times. His age I do not know exactly, but as he came over in 1736 and died in 1787 it is probable that he lived beyond the period of the Psalmist. It is the duty of all of us to mark the grave of such a man with a durable and appropriate monument.

The successor of Robert Alexander was the Rev. John Brown, who was graduated at Princeton in 1749, and was a licentiate of Newcastle Presbytery. He was called to Providence and Timber Ridge Churches in 1753. The roll on which are inserted the names of those who called him has been fortunately preserved, and presents an interesting memorial of that generation. The names are 112 in number, and it is remarkable that nearly all of them are Saxon or Norman, though the Scotch-Irish blood has a great preponderance. It is stated that the academy in the time of Mr. Brown was successively removed a few miles westward, first to

near Old Providence, and then shortly before the Revolution to Mount Pleasant, near Fairfield, in the present county of Rockbridge. He conducted the school until 1774, when he was assisted by William Graham, who, two years later, became the principal. Of Mr. Brown it is proper to say that he remained the pastor at New Providence forty-four years, that he married a daughter of John Preston, and that in his old age he removed with his sons to Kentucky, where he died in 1803, at the age of 75. His five sons were educated here and at Princeton. John was a member of the Continental Congress and of the first Congress under the present constitution. William, who was a promising physician, died early, in South Carolina; Samuel was an eminent professor in the medical school of Transylvania University, while James may be recalled by some now present as having performed a prominent part in public life, as the first Secretary of State of Kentucky, as the Secretary of Louisiana Territory, as a member of the Senate of the United States for ten years, during a part of which time he was the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and as the Minister of the United States at the Court of France for six years. He died in Philadelphia suddenly on the 7th of April, 1835, in his seventieth year; and the students of Washington College may proudly claim him as one of their most distinguished alumni.

On the 6th of May 1776, the Presbytery of Hanover, under whose direction the school had been established, determined to remove the Augusta Academy, as it was then called, from Mount Pleasant to Timber Ridge, where a tract of eighty acres was offered as a site of the institution by Capt. Alexander Stuart and Mr. Samuel Houston, "the neighbors offering to build a hewed log-house, 28 feet by 24, one story and a half high, besides their subscriptions, and assuring of the probability that fire-wood and timber for building will be furnished gratis for at least twenty years." The body appointed the Rev. Wm. Graham, Rector, and Mr. John Montgomery his assistant; and chose a board of trustees consisting of—

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Rev. John Brown, | 4. William Irvin, |
| 2. James Waddell, | 5. Rector <i>ex officio</i> , |
| 3. Charles Cummings, | 6. Mr. Thomas Lewis, |

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 7. Col. William Christian, | 16. Maj. Samuel McDowell, |
| 8. Gen. Andrew Lewis, | 17. Mr. William McPheeters, |
| 9. Col. William Fleming, | 18. Capt. Alexander Stuart, |
| 10. Mr. Thomas Stuart, | 19. Capt. William McKee, |
| 11. Mr. Samuel Lyle, | 20. Mr. John Houston, |
| 12. Mr. John Grattan, | 21. Mr. Charles Campbell, |
| 13. Col. William Preston, | 22. Capt. George Moffett, |
| 14. Mr. Sampson Matthews, | 23. Mr. William Ward, |
| 15. Col. John Bowyer, | 24. and Capt. John Lewis, |

at the Warm Springs, of whom seven should constitute a quorum. The Presbytery also reserved to themselves the right of visitation forever, as often as they should judge it necessary, and of choosing the Rector and his assistant. And early in 1777 the Academy was removed from Mt. Pleasant to Timber Ridge. And at a meeting the Trustees on the 6th day of May 1776, "incited by the patriotic spirit of the day, directed that the record for that day be entitled Liberty Hall, as this Academy is hereafter to be called instead of Augusta Academy." In 1785, the Academy was again removed to near Lexington, to a stone building, which was destroyed by fire in 1803¹ but the picturesque ruins of which may still be seen. It was then removed to its present site within the limits of Lexington. In 1782, the Academy received a charter of incorporation, and was thenceforth under the legal control of the Trustees appointed by that instrument. The Trustees named in the charter of 1782 are :

Rev. William Graham, *Rector*.

Arthur Campbell,	William Christian,
Andrew Moore,	William Alexander,
Joseph Walker,	Alexander Campbell,
John Wilson,	John Trimble,
John Hays,	John Bowyer,
Samuel McDowell,	George Moffett,
William McKee,	James McCorkle,
Samuel Lyle,	Archibald Stuart,
Rev. Caleb Wallace,	Rev. John Montgomery,
Rev. William Wilson.	

¹ The Honorable Sidney S. Baxter informed me that the Academy was burned about Christmas, 1802. He said either the day before or the day after Christmas, I have forgotten which.—W. A.

From the date of the incorporation of the Academy to 1796, the most important incident in the history of the College was the gift of one hundred shares of the James River Company bestowed by Washington on the institution, which occurred in the latter year, and soon after the name of Liberty Hall was changed to that of Washington Academy. The letter addressed to Washington, which presented the claims of the Academy to this generous endowment, and which doubtless influenced the mind of the Father of his Country in bestowing it upon the institution, was drawn by Graham, and is a masterly production. On the 25th of September of the same year, Graham in a letter to the Trustees resigned the office of Rector, which he had held for twenty-two years.

Such is a brief outline of the Academy from its foundation in 1749 to 1796, a period of forty-seven years; and if it had then ceased to exist—if the plough had passed over its foundations—if its charter had been given to the winds—it had accomplished an amount of good, which it would be difficult to overestimate. It directed the attention of a rising community, under circumstances the most unpropitious, to a large and liberal moral and intellectual culture. It sent forth hundreds of educated men who taught schools, who filled professorships, who brought the aid of science to the cause of the Revolution, who diffused in the domestic circle the blessings of learning and religion, who filled pulpits, who shone at the bar, in the halls of legislation, and at foreign courts, and whose influence on the mind and heart of man is felt at this moment, and will be felt in time to come.

WILLIAM GRAHAM.

The facts of the life of this great man are few. He sprang from a family which for a thousand years had been conspicuous in the annals of Scotland from the hovel to the palace, in arts, in arms, in eloquence, and in song. It was a daring man by the name of Graham that first broke through the wall of Agricola, which the Roman general had built between the firths of Clyde and Forth to keep off the incursions of the Northern Britons, and the ruins of which, still visible, are called to this day the ruins of Graham's Dyke. They were borderers, as distinguished from Highlanders,

and on one occasion three hundred of the family were banished to Ireland; and it is not improbable that the blood of the fiery moss-trooper flowed in the blood of our Founder. One of the fairest personifications of the race may be seen from the pen of Sir Walter Scott in the Legend of Montrose. Michael Graham, the father of our William, emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania between 1720 and 1730; and on the 19th of December, 1746, in Paxton Township, about five miles from the present capital of Pennsylvania, William Graham was born. His parents were poor, and lived on the outskirts of civilization; and young Graham had none of those early advantages which are so efficient in developing the faculties of the mind. He attended the common schools of the neighborhood when any such existed; and until his 22d year he worked in the field with his father. Two things are told of him, that have no relation to each other, but which showed their effects in his subsequent life. He was fond of dancing; and he probably engaged in a Highland fling, or cut a pigeon wing, or danced a hornpipe, as readily as any of his ancestors, who were famed for dancing, ever did before him, and with as much ease and grace as he afterwards displayed in solving by methods of his own the most abstruse problems of metaphysics, or in explaining a dark allusion in Juvenal, or a doubtful passage in Tacitus. The other was, that as his frontier home was ever liable to the inroads of the savages, he learned the use of the rifle, and he was as familiar with it, as he subsequently became with those other instruments of science which Hanover Presbytery and the good people of Augusta had procured in the midst of war and in the sacrifices of a mountain life, to promote the cause of a generous education. On one occasion at night the dogs about his father's frontier cabin began to bark, and one of his sisters detected the movements of Indians; and the family determined to leave the house and make for the fort. With his musket loaded, and prepared for instant fight, young William headed the sally, and conducted the family in safety to the fort. And in this stern school of courage, he acquired that wonderful faculty, so often exhibited in his career, of stripping a subject of its present and temporary difficulties and of looking to distant results, which marked his course in the greatest political crisis of the age in which he lived.

At one-and-twenty that religious change which, at a later day, came over the gigantic mind of Chalmers, and which led the Scotch divine to lay all the wealth of the stars and the greenest garlands of philosophy at the foot of the Cross, came over the mind of Graham. He determined to study theology, and with only his own exertions to support him, and with only the light of a pious mother's love as a lamp to his path, he began the study of Latin. He first attended the school of the Rev. Mr. Roan and ultimately became a pupil of Finley. When he had mastered the elementary studies, he entered Princeton College, which was then radiant with the fame of its distinguished President, and with the genius of its students in the the different classes of the institution. Witherspoon, who was to sign the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation, and who looked with kind feelings on the descendants of his own ancestral land, had the peculiar gift of inspiring young men with the love of study; and in the Senior Class was Gunning Bedford, who was to sign the present Federal Constitution; Hugh Breckenridge, James Madison and Samuel Spring; in the Junior Class was William Bradford, afterward a Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and Attorney-General of the United States; Aaron Burr, afterwards Attorney-General of New York and Vice-President of the United States, who now, after a stormy life, sleeps beside the dust of his venerable father in the shadow of the vales of Princeton, and William Smith Livingstone, also prominent in public affairs; and among his own classmates were Henry Lee, of Legion memory; Morgan Lewis, afterwards Governor of New York and a member of the Senate of the United States; Aaron Ogden, afterwards Governor of New Jersey and a member the United States Senate, and John Blair Smith, afterwards President of Hampden Sidney—a name still held in tender and affectionate remembrance in the region of Virginia in which I live, and ever to be held in honor by every lover of learning and piety in this Commonwealth. He took his degree in 1773 with his class, and it was observed that he held the same rank among his fellows that he afterwards maintained in every sphere in which he happened to move. And it should also be observed for the encouragement of genius struggling with those difficulties which so often attend it, that he mainly defrayed his college expenses by his

own industry. One incident near the close of his college life is so well told by Dr. Foote and is so honorable to the parties concerned, that I ought not to pass it over. At the approach of the final examination, your distinguished father, Mr. President,¹ who I have already said was a classmate of Graham, proposed to Graham that they should review their studies together. Graham, who was afraid that the lively genius of your father might lead him astray, was disposed to decline the invitation ; but young Lee persisted and Graham consented, with the condition that no conversation should be introduced during the hour of study. When the examination was over, Lee came to his friend Graham's room, and said to him : " Well, Graham, I have passed a glorious examination ; and I know that I am indebted for it in a great measure to you. What recompense shall I make you ? " " None at all," said Graham. After some conversation Lee left the room and soon returned ; and laying on the table Belshaw's Lectures on Natural Philosophy, immediately departed. Upon opening the volume Graham found a black line had been drawn through the name of Henry Lee, and underneath was written William Graham. The volume, says Dr. Foote, is still preserved by Graham's connections in Virginia. On leaving college Graham returned to his father's house, and entered on the study of theology, under his pastor, Mr. Roan, and in 1774 he was invited to engage in a classical school in Augusta, under the direction of the Rev. John Brown of whom we have already spoken, and accepted the invitation. In 1775 he was received as a minister of the Presbyterian Church by the Presbytery at Timber Ridge, and on the 6th of May, 1776, the headship of the Academy devolved upon him, with the title of Rector, and Mr. John Montgomery as his assistant. The system of teaching pursued by Mr. Graham during the twenty years that he presided in the Academy was well designed to develop the faculties of the mind, and to prepare young men to engage with efficiency in the active duties of life. He always insisted " on the importance of classical literature as the proper foundation of a liberal education," and a thorough training in mathematics, and the sciences and knowledges dependent upon

¹ Gen. Robert E. Lee was on the platform when this address was delivered.—Eds.

these two great departments. He also taught moral and intellectual philosophy, not as sciences complete in themselves, but as an introduction to theology, being the gates called Beautiful, leading to that glorious temple not built with human hands, and whose foundations are laid in the Divine Will. While he was familiar with the existing writers on the subject, and especially with the sermons of Bishop Butler, and had introduced into the school the manuscript lectures of Dr. Witherspoon, which he had studied in Princeton, he adopted the authority of no master, and worked out an elaborate system of his own, which no less a judge than Dr. Archibald Alexander declared "to be in clearness and fulness superior to anything which has been given to the public in the numerous works which have been recently published on the subject." When we reflect that Graham had only a few imperfectly educated students from the neighboring hills and homesteads around him, and in the absence of all emulation put forth his powers so grandly, we can readily imagine what he would have done if, like Dugald Stewart, or Thomas Brown, or Thomas Chalmers, he had been surrounded by classes of hundreds of highly educated young men and a daily auditory of eminent men, to quicken his powers, and to give full scope to the excursions of his genius. And while we concede that just supremacy to the skill of Graham which it so eminently deserves, it is proper to say that he was assisted by some competent tutors, among whom the name of James Priestly should not be omitted. He was a Rockbridge boy of poor parents, whose genius was detected by Graham, who was instructed by him, and who, having been chosen a tutor in 1783, devoted his talents to Latin and Greek literature, in which he acquired great eminence. He possessed the faculty of inspiring his pupils with a love of literature, and Dr. Archibald Alexander ascribes his love of study to the instruction of Priestly. This remarkable man became the president of the Cumberland University, and died while president of that institution.

During the Revolution, while Graham was engaged in teaching his scholars, and in preaching on Sundays, he was not indisposed to unite with his countrymen in repressing the inroads of the enemy. He regarded that contest as involving religious as well as political freedom, and believed it to be the duty of

all to sustain the common cause. There has ever been a strong spice of war in the Scotch clergy. When Gibbon assigned to Buchanan the credit of having first put forth the doctrine that Christianity might be defended by the sword, he overlooked the history of that church which, during the dismal millennium of the Middle Ages, diffused from its magnificent temples, whose ruins still interest the traveller, the light of Christianity over Scotland—a light, it may be, not as pure and as brilliant as it might have been, but still a blessed and glorious light in the midst of general darkness. On one occasion when a draft was to be made from the militia of Rockbridge, and when volunteers were backward in coming forth, Graham stepped forward and the complement was soon filled. He was elected captain, but the company was not called into service. It would be interesting to inquire what would have been the result if the genius of Graham had been turned to war. He had been inured to personal danger from his infancy, he was a strict disciplinarian, and he was better versed in the sciences than most of the officers of the Revolution. He might not have met with opportunities of distinction; or, like George Rogers Clark, who was teaching a school on the Rappahannock on the breaking out of the war, he might have added an empire to his country. His character would lead us to believe that he would have accomplished all that skill, patriotism and valor could achieve in the sphere in which he happened to move. Let us rejoice that his destiny confined him to the pulpit and to the professor's chair.

After twenty years of faithful service he resigned the office of Rector. He was induced to take this step from the want of adequate support for his family. The prime of life was gone, and he was poor. When he had paid his assistants, he had but little left for himself. He had reached the age of fifty, and had devoted his great talents to the cause of education; and he was solicitous to make some provision for his large and helpless family, before the approach of old age. With this view he purchased land on the Ohio; and it was his design to settle there with some chosen friends; and it was on business connected with this settlement that he rode on horseback from the Ohio to Richmond, where he was taken ill soon after his arrival, and died at the house of his friend, Col.

Gamble,¹ on the 8th of June, 1799, at the age of fifty-three. Near the south door of the Episcopal Church on Church Hill, within the walls of which Patrick Henry uttered those memorable words, "Give me liberty, or give me death," and near the ashes of George Wythe and Edward Carrington, now repose the mortal remains of your illustrious Rector.

He was above the middle stature, rather delicate than muscular in his proportions. His eyes were dark, and when he was roused, were brilliant and piercing. There was ease and grace in all his movements, and never for a moment did he lose the full command of his faculties. He had a great fund of wit, and his sarcasm was said under provocation to be scathing, and was a formidable weapon in debate. He was most amiable in private life, and was tenderly beloved by his friends. He possessed in a remarkable degree that moral courage, without which neither battles are won, nor colleges built, churches gathered together, nor opposition overcome, nor triumphs worth the winning ever won.

The character of Graham presents to the observer three distinctive aspects, which require a passing notice: that of a preacher, that of a professor, and that of a politician. As a preacher, he did not possess that blazing eloquence with which Massillon and Bourdaloue and some even of his own contemporaries kindled the passions of their auditory, and which filled the church with those eager and bustling crowds that were wont to witness the magical action of a Garrick or a Kean, or were overawed by the dignity of a Talma or a Kemble. There was a mixture of statesmanship even in his preaching. He looked to the law and the gospel as the rule of instruction. He saw neither the conflagration of Tully, nor the torrent of Demosthenes, nor the glow of passion, nor the polish of a dazzling rhetoric, in the Sermon on the Mount; and he brought to bear upon his audience the same conclusive demonstration of doctrine that from the chair of the professor made the darkest problems of moral and intellectual philosophy clear to the dullest comprehension. It is an eloquent testimony of the mind as well as the preaching of Graham that the profound sermons of Butler were his favorite contemplations. He was not, however, wholly insensible to the influence of the moment; but on venturing into

¹ An alumnus of the Academy.—Eds.

the realm of the passions it was plain that he felt that he was a trespasser and a wayfarer there, and his stern sense of duty rebuked him back into the region of demonstration and argument. The sermon which he preached at Briery in 1789 was never forgotten by those who heard it. It remained with them through life, and the recollections of it lived after they were within their graves. The beautiful text, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people," is still known in the neighborhood of Briery, after eighty years, as Mr. Graham's text. But it was reason, not passion, instruction not declamation, that marked his preaching. "As a clear and cogent reasoner," said a distinguished pupil, "he had no superior among his contemporaries."

The chair of the professor was the throne from which Graham wielded his greatest influence on the minds of his generation. It was the main business of his life to teach, and he sought the best means of developing the faculties of the young. He was no pretender. He sought no royal, no rapid roads to knowledge. Nor did he seek to teach many things. He thought the great object of academical education was to discipline the powers and not to fill the mind with a multiplicity of acquirements. His great object was to form the mind, and to make it work out its own victories. He saw the force of language as an element of power in the affairs of men, and the advantage of a thorough mastery of his native language by every student; and he studied the proper mode of teaching it. He saw that the Greeks, who have left us the purest specimens of writing, studied no other tongue than their own; but he saw at the same time, both that their language was the most perfect that existed, and that, though resting on a Pelasgian foundation, the old dialect had been lost in the lapse of ages and a perfect tongue had taken its place. He saw that the Greek studied no other tongue than his own, because that tongue was in the main homogeneous and had attained to perfection. But in looking at the teaching of the Romans he saw that the policy of teaching a single tongue did not apply, and that the Roman student studied the Greek tongue with all his diligence from earliest youth, and studied it as a model to his dying day. And he saw the reason of this devotion. The Latin was a compound language. It rested indeed on an Etruscan base, but it borrowed from all literatures,

and especially from the Greek. Nor did it possess those models of eloquence, and history, and poetry, in which the Greek abounded; and he saw that the ablest orators and poets and historians of Rome were those who were most intimate with the beauties of Greek literature. He then looked into the elements of our own tongue. He recognized it as not only the youngest in the family of languages, but that it was made up of more languages than any other; and that it demanded a more critical study than had been devoted either in Greece or Rome to a foreign tongue. And, looking to the example of England, he observed that that system of education which had produced her Bacons and Newtons and Lockes embraced a thorough study of the Latin and Greek classics and of the mathematics between the ages of eight and eighteen. Hence he taught the Latin and Greek languages, and, as far as he could, the languages that lean upon them, and the mathematics, and, as far as he could, the sciences which lean upon them, with his utmost energy,—believing that a youth who was thoroughly drilled in those two great departments had laid a foundation on which he might raise any superstructure of active or of studious life that might be desired. Once especially did he rebuke from his presence that weak and wretched philosophy which impels a parent to seek instruction for his child in those elementary departments alone which may be supposed to bear upon the destined professions of the child, and, overlooking that broad and generous culture which is best adapted to develop all the faculties and to brace the mind for its highest achievements, to doom a son to inferiority through life, and to grovel in the lower regions of that system of society of which he might have been one of the proudest columns and most honored ornaments. Such was the system of Graham—a system which bore rich fruits in his own day, and which is felt through his distinguished pupils in our own times.

Eminent as Graham undoubtedly was in the pulpit and in the professor's chair, those who look closely into his character would be apt to conclude that, had his lot been cast at the bar and in the Senate, he would have been more eminent still. He lived at a time when all the intellectual men were in a greater or less degree politicians. The questions that brought on the Revolution of 1776, were almost wholly theoretical. We suffered from no act of posi-

tive oppression. When independence became imminent, the clergy took an active part in the contest. One of the profession was a member of the convention of 1776 ; another became a general ; and others engaged directly or indirectly in active service during the war ; and in the convention of 1788 there were two clergymen in the body. I have already mentioned the election of Graham as captain of a company. On another occasion he led a company to the seat of war. But the question which particularly interested clerical men was our legislation in respect of religion. When the scheme of an assessment for the support of religion was brought forward, and was sustained by Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and other prominent men, Graham, who viewed even religious questions with the eye of a statesman, was not indisposed to approve it, and he was governed by the same reasons that led Henry to favor the policy.

The Revolution had almost entirely stripped the churches of their pastors. "At the beginning of the war," says Bishop Meade, "Virginia had ninety-one clergymen officiating in one hundred and sixty-four churches and chapels ; at its close only twenty-eight ministers were found laboring in the less desolate parishes of the state." Patrick Henry saw this destitution and sought to relieve it by levying an assessment to be assigned by the taxpayer to what church he pleased.

To say that it was an Episcopal measure because Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and other Episcopalians supported it, would be as far from the truth as it would be to assert that the Virginia resolution of independence, which was drawn, was reported to the house, and was carried by Episcopalians, or that the Declaration of Rights, which was also drawn, reported and carried by Episcopal votes, was an Episcopal measure. Had this scheme been adopted, our numerous church buildings would have been saved from ruin ; an intelligent and pious clergy would have dispensed the word of life to thousands who remained for an entire generation without the offices of religion ; and our people would have been prepared in some degree to withstand that torrent of infidelity which a few years later swept over Christendom, and the influence of which was felt in every corner of our territory. When, however, the religious controversy assumed a broader ground, he maintained the

widest views of religious freedom, and with his friend and neighbor, Andrew Moore, who represented Rockbridge in the Assembly, earnestly advocated the passage of the Act concerning Religious Freedom.

When the new State of Frankland, so called in honor of Franklin, whose advice was invoked in its hour of difficulty, was meditated within the corporate limits of North Carolina, Graham was requested to draught a form of government, and he prepared a paper for the purpose. He had ever regarded with profound admiration the genius of John Locke. Indeed, in the simplicity of their domestic habits, in the plainness and severity of their reasoning, in their superiority over the formal modes of the schools, there was a strong resemblance between them. In 1689, the year after the great British Revolution, Locke had drawn a constitution for the Carolinas, and Graham was called upon a century later to draw a plan of government for a part of the territory embraced by the constitution of his great predecessor. The constitution of Locke has come down to us; and it may be mentioned as an illustration, not of the age in which it was written—the age of Somers and of other great lawyers who were prominent in the British Revolution—but of the peculiarities of Locke, that his constitution declares that “it is a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward” in a court of justice. Graham’s plan is lost, unless it was the scheme that was adopted by the new commonwealth, and such may have been the case. But although it attracted great attention, and led to some noisy demonstrations, we do not know positively that it was laid before the convention of the new State. In that convention John Sevier, a Valley boy, and a hero of King’s Mountain, presided. David Campbell,¹ another Valley boy, was one of the three judges elected under the constitution, and Landon Carter, a tidewater boy from the banks of the lower James, was the speaker of the first Senate of the new government. These were friends and neighbors of Graham; and he did not hesitate to assist them in preparing a plan of government.² To carve a new

¹ An alumnus of the Academy.—Eds.

² Samuel Houston, a pupil of Graham’s, was a member of the convention and consulted him as to the constitution. Samuel Doak, an alumnus of the Academy, was also a member.—Eds.

State out of the territory of a State without the authority of law would be a grave and unjustifiable procedure in our own times. But in the case of Sevier and his associates it was substantially a work of self-defense. They were separated by hundreds of miles from the settlements; they were surrounded by savages who awaited a favorable moment of attack; they were beyond the protection of the laws. They had not a dollar in coin to pay taxes. And when the new government was established, its officers were paid mainly in the skins of wild beasts—the governor and the judges in fox skins, the sheriff in those of the mink, and other officers in those of coons and opossums; and though this gradation is not strictly correct, it is unquestionable that skins, domestic cloth, bacon, tallow and whiskey, according to a rate fixed by law, composed the main currency of the infant commonwealth. At all events, to justify Graham in his course respecting Frankland, it is sufficient to say that, four years later than the date of the birth of Frankland, in the Virginia Convention of 1788, Patrick Henry threatened to form a state out of the lower western tier of our own counties on the North Carolina line and of these identical counties that composed the State of Frankland. He preferred the solitudes of the interior, abounding in dark forests and untravelled streams, and inhabited by fierce savages and beasts of prey, with the protection of a flag of a single star on its folds, to the cultivated plains and magnificent waters of the East under the full blaze of the new federal system.

A fine exhibition of the ready tact and ability of Graham may be seen in the letter which he prepared in compliance with an order of the Board of Trustees with a view of laying before Gen. Washington the claims of Liberty Hall Academy to the benefaction which the Father of his Country designed, to use his own words, “to the use of a Seminary, to be erected in such part of the State as they (the Legislature) should deem most proper.” Here it is plain that there was no original purpose in the mind of Washington to fix upon a particular site. He left that question for the decision of the Assembly. But the letter of Graham settled it forever. That letter displays the qualities of a scholar, a patriot, and a statesman. It is wonderful to contemplate with what accuracy he foresaw the future and pictured before the imagi-

nation of Washington the very scene that is now before us. It is enough to say that the letter produced its desired effect ; and that liberal benefaction was made which yields at this day three thousand dollars annually to your funds.

An incident grew out of the Washington endowment which throws so strong a light on the genius of Graham as to require a passing remark. At the session of the General Assembly succeeding that event, the General Assembly passed an act converting the Academy into a college bearing the name of Washington, and appointed a full board of visitors for the government of the same. This was done without the knowledge or consent of the Trustees incorporated by the act of 1782, and was wholly unconstitutional. It divested the institution of its lawful property and committed it to the control of others. It was plainly designed as an act of kindness by the Assembly. It raised the institution from an academy to a college, and it nominated a board of trustees of which any college might well have been proud. This act was the law of the land ; and if the trustees appointed by its provisions had sought to take possession, we should have had the celebrated Dartmouth College case by anticipation by more than a score of years. The trustees of the Academy took the subject into consideration, and adopted a protest against the proposed change. That paper was drawn by Graham, and the arguments are those which were afterwards used by Daniel Webster in the case above mentioned. It must be stated, however, that though the present Federal Constitution was then in operation, Graham never could have consented to try a question of Virginia law before a Federal tribunal. The act was repealed at the next session of the Assembly. And it may be proper to say that a committee consisting of J. Wilson, Benjamin Grigsby and S. Houston, was instructed to have the title of Liberty Hall changed into that of a college, but for some reason the change was not made by the Assembly, though the name of Washington Academy was adopted ; and it was not until 1813 that the name of the Academy was changed into that of Washington College.¹

¹ Mr. Grigsby is in error in attributing the authorship of this protest to Mr. Graham. Mr. Graham had severed his connection with the Academy before the obnoxious act was passed. The protest was drawn by the Rev. Samuel Brown,

But the most important political topic which engaged the attention of Graham was the expediency of adopting the present federal constitution. That was the first great event of a strictly political nature that stirred the American mind from its innermost recesses. The Declaration of Independence was a great conjuncture ; but it came when actual war had been raging more than a twelvemonth, and when the practical question of self-preservation and defense against the greatest military and naval power of the globe overruled every other. The federal constitution was framed by the general convention which held its sessions in Philadelphia from May to September, 1787 ; and was immediately reported to the States for their action upon it. Virginia called a convention to assemble in Richmond, in June, to take the new plan into consideration. In the interval of the two conventions, the State became one vast battle-field of debate. The most accomplished speakers appeared on the rostrum, in the pulpit after preaching was over, in the court yard and at the barbecue. It was seen soon after the smoke of the first sharp volleys had cleared away and left the scene open to the observer, that, with some remarkable exceptions on either side, the statesmen who had engaged actively in the Congress of the Confederation, who had presided on the bench of our new judiciary, and had taken an active part in the field, were inclined to support the new system ; while those eminent men who had swayed the councils of the colony and the commonwealth from the dawn of the revolution to the present date, and who were then in the full vigor of their faculties, were opposed to the adoption of the constitution without many and very thorough modifications. With the first party, at the head of which was Washington, the public men of the Valley took their stand. What the considerations were that impelled them to that course, I will state at length when I come to treat of one of your trustees, Gen. Andrew Moore. But Graham took sides with Henry, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason and others, at whose feet Washington sat, as Paul sat at the

a member of the Committee of the Board of Trustees, and the manuscript draft is in the possession of his son, the Rev. William Brown, D. D. The points made in the protest as to the unconstitutionality of the act are substantially the same as those made by Mr. Webster in his great speech in the Dartmouth College case.—EDS.

feet of Gamaliel, for a quarter of a century then past. I may say in passing, as an element of no little influence in the case, that, with certain exceptions, the religious denomination to which Graham belonged adhered to the side of the constitution ; while the Episcopalians and the Baptists leaned to the other side of the question. My present office is to point out the considerations which induced Graham to bring all his abilities to bear in opposing the adoption of the constitution. Like every other Virginian of that era, he loved the union of the States, and no one could see more distinctly than he did, the absolute necessity of that union to the preservation of public liberty. It was the general conviction of that day that the treaty of peace was only a truce on the part of Great Britain, who still held the western parts in palpable violation of the treaty of Paris, and was engaged in deep intrigues with the western tribes. The question then was, not whether there should be a union with the Northern States, but what should be the terms of that union, and whether those terms were contained in the instrument proposed for adoption. Graham thought that they were not, and he brought to the discussion all the researches of his industry and all the resources of his genius. He looked at the vast territory of Virginia, stretching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the Ohio to the North Carolina line ; and he saw in our fertile lands, in our mineral wealth, in the number and grandeur of our streams, in our accessibility to the sea both on the west and on the east, and in our delightful climate, the elements for the formation of a mighty commonwealth.

He saw too, that in spite of the losses sustained by the war of the Revolution—losses in population, black and white, losses in all securities, losses in a currency which, having fulfilled its office of securing the public freedom, had sunk to nothing, and losses in many other things—that the State had been steadily advancing in wealth and numbers, from the date of Independence to the year 1788, with a rapidity then unknown in her history ; and that her great seaport, which had been reduced to ashes at the beginning of the war, had risen in five or six years, as if touched by the wand of a magician, into four times her former dimensions, and into twenty times her former wealth, and presented to the eye a harvest of shipping which had never before been gathered in the harbors of

the new world. But Graham possessed a quality in an eminent degree which but few statesmen of any generation possess, that of embracing all the facts of a great era in all their significance; but he worked out the legitimate results of those facts for half a century to come; and when he had ascertained them with the accuracy of deliberate calculation, he brought them palpably before him with all the distinctness of a present spectacle. But the foundation of all that prosperity rested in his view upon the right of Virginia to lay her own taxes and to regulate her own trade at her own discretion. To surrender those powers so essential to the prosperity of a State, to any authority beyond her own limits, and especially to States whose white population exceeded her own at the date of cession, and which was likely to increase in a rapid ratio, while a large part of our own population was excluded by compact from all political significance whatever, seemed to Graham a sacrifice without precedent in history, and to the last degree dangerous. Nor did he overlook the fact, that the Convention which framed the new plan of government had been convoked expressly to amend the existing confederation, and that to sanction the action of such a body was substantially to surrender all hope of amending hereafter an existing form of government under special instructions to the representative. Hence, while John Blair Smith, the rival president of Hampden Sidney and his intimate friend, advocated the constitution in opposition to Patrick Henry on the court green of Prince Edward, and while there was an almost unanimous approval of that instrument by the religious denomination to which Graham belonged, he opposed it with all his zeal. And when, during the session of the Virginia convention, it was apparent that a great change had taken place in the public mind, and that efforts were making by the people to instruct their delegates in that body to vote against the constitution, he entered warmly into this mode of opposition and succeeded in obtaining a majority of the voters of Rockbridge opposed to that instrument, and forwarded the instructions to Richmond. The representatives of the county were Andrew Moore and William McKee, and both refused to obey them.¹ Had the delegates from

¹ Andrew Moore and William McKee were elected delegates to the Convention as advocates of the adoption of the Constitution. William Graham and

Rockbridge voted against the constitution, and had the delegates of only two of the other counties who represented constituents hostile to the instrument followed their example, that constitution would have failed to receive the sanction of the body, until it had received such amendments as were deemed indispensable by its opponents. Of the course of Gen. Moore and Col. McKee in refusing to obey the will of their constituents, I will speak presently. For his course on this occasion, Graham appealed to the verdict of posterity. Almost three generations have passed since the date of his action. We are now on the very hill from which he waged his war of opposition. Yonder is the highway along which the surging streams of voters from every homestead of the county rolled on their way to the court-house to record their names on the instructions. And we are that posterity in whose unborn bosoms he lodged his appeal. The experience of eighty-two years, pronounced by the tongue and the pen and the sword, is before us. And may we not declare, whatever may be our opinion on the question of the propriety of adopting the federal constitution, that the course of Graham was marked by profound ability, by a far-seeing statesmanship, and by a love of country, which neither the authority of great names, the blandishments of applause, the fear of present unpopularity, the frowns of the church to which he belonged and of which he was a devoted pastor, nor a sense of personal interest could intimidate or impair?

Such was William Graham. Cradled in the forests of the extreme frontier of civilization, and perpetually exposed to the incursions of savages, he spent his youth and early manhood in the toils and perils of the farm. Resolved to preach the gospel, and without the means of obtaining a liberal education, he sustains himself by his industry while he pursues his elementary studies. Having entered college, and called upon with his imperfect preparation to put forth all his powers to accomplish his daily task, and withal compelled to earn the means to defray his daily expenses, he wins the applause of Witherspoon, the warmest affections of his classmates, and takes his degree with the highest honors of the

John Hays were the opposing candidates. They were opposed to the adoption of the Constitution, and were defeated by a small majority.—Eds.

institution. Devoting his talents to the pulpit and to the chair of the professor, he becomes one of the most eminent divines of the age; and he solves the most abstruse problems in mental philosophy with a skill that has been praised by some of the most famous professors of that science in our own day. Living at the epoch when Virginia was passing, amid the shock of arms, from the colony to the commonwealth, and when republican institutions were to be established, he was as ready to march to the field of battle as he was to discuss schemes and to decide upon the best means of upholding the government in a time of peace, bringing to the discussion of every political question the ability and the wariness of the statesman, and advancing in his course, alike undismayed by the voice of authority and undazzled by the specious splendor of political systems. And while performing the great business of his life, in the double capacity of a servant of his Heavenly Master, and as a professor in various departments of science, and impressing on the minds of thousands the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith and the elements of a large and generous education, and building up an institution which should continue the good work for generations to come, this great man closed his career. And, as if the lesson of so pure and so august a life should be purified from the dross of selfishness, he died poor. The talents which would have wreathed his brow with the laurels of the forum and the senate, and filled his coffers with the glittering rewards of successful industry, were spent in a private sphere, and were devoted to his country and his God. The mere worldling—the man who regards riches as the grandest of earthly distinctions—may turn with disgust from the modest, self-sacrificing course of Graham, and even laugh at his folly. But compare the two men, and mark the result. Both look steadily to the distant future. The rich man who curls his lip at the moral beauty of a career devoted to science and religion at the sacrifice of his dazzling treasures, lays his own plans of immortality. He counts his houses, and he numbers the acres of his farms, and he tells over every dollar of his hoards, and he assigns to each of his children a sum which he deems sufficient to place them hereafter within the circle of a wealthy society. Death knocks at his door, and he is laid away amid the trappings of a costly mourning; and the pon-

derous marble is evoked from its mountain bed, and, invested by the chisel with the blazonry, it may be, of an ancient and honorable line, is placed over his ashes. But he dies as the fool dieth. His memory, unredeemed by a single spark of intellectuality, or by a feeling of kinship with his race, beyond the narrow confines of his family, decays with his body, and will be dwelt upon by the world at large with no more respect and affection than that of the beasts that bore his flouting cerements to the grave. How unwise in a moral and even in a pecuniary view the conduct of such a character! He forgot altogether that he was a man and that the concerns of his fellowmen should find a lodgment in his bosom. He forgot that riches have wings and are ever ready to fly away. He forgot that the wealth of an ancestor, however vast, unless replenished by the industry of successors, rarely descends, under our institutions, to a third generation; and that his children's children, but for the generous liberality and noble philanthropy of him whose poverty he rebuked from him, would be denied the privilege of sharing the choicest blessings of knowledge and civilization; and he thus becomes in a few short years, in the persons of his descendants, a suppliant for the charity of him whose poverty was his scorn.

How different is the fame of a great Teacher, whose faculties, irrespective of the lucre that perisheth, at the sacrifice of private fortune, have been faithfully devoted, through a whole generation, to the moral, religious, and intellectual improvement of his race! What a fragrance the memory of such a man sheds, not only around the sphere of his immediate labors, but over the State, and over the nation, whose ornament and dear delight he was and ever will be! His field, in the impressive language of scripture, is the world. He makes the age in which he lives his own, and his fame looming grandly through the mists of centuries gains fresh sublimity from the progress of years, and shines with an ever increasing brightness on future generations. Though dead he yet breathes and moves in our midst in all his majesty, and he speaketh from the chair of authority, and with the lips of persuasion. Posterity bends with reverence at his grave, and looks with interest on the mouldering ruins of his infant seminary, and performs the delightful office of tracing the career of the thousands whose genius was

kindled by his instructions, who have cast the benignant light of letters and love around many a domestic hearth, whose swords have flamed on the field of battle, and whose enginery has crushed the beleaguered castle, whose eloquence has been heard in the pulpit, at the bar, and on the floor of deliberative assemblies, and decided the questions of the age, and whose patriotism, waked into vigor by his voice and example, has been the bulwark and the pride of their country. Future generations will delight to ascend the hill on which rested, amid the fallen trees of a primeval forest, and the narrow outspread of a sparse population, whose only defence was the log fort and the rifle, his humble Academy, and will delight to stray through the numerous edifices and the spacious halls which have arisen in its place; and when they pause to inspect the instruments of philosophy or the monuments of literature and science that are garnered in your treasuries, and behold the hundreds of pupils, the future guard and grace of their country, who have come hither from every part of our beloved south, and the able and accomplished men who filled the chairs of the institution, and recall the illustrious services rendered by them to their country amid the tempest of our great revolution, and in every sphere of intellectual exertion, they will feel and declare that all the glories which they behold, abounding and resplendent as they are, but serve to reflect with renewed brightness the genius of Graham, and that one of the fairest jewels in your crown of rejoicing, and in the treasury of his country, is the memory of your illustrious Founder.

JOHN MONTGOMERY.

John Montgomery, whose name is both on the Presbyterial and the chartered list of Trustees, was born in Augusta, and a graduate of Princeton in 1775. He was ordained as a minister in 1780, and accepted a call from Winchester, Cedar Creek and Opequon. After a residence of seven or eight years in this charge, he removed to the Pastures in Augusta, where he had inherited some property, and there spent the remainder of his life. Before he entered the ministry he was associated with Mr. Graham as a tutor in Liberty Hall. He is reported to have been a sound scholar, a popular

preacher, and always ready to promote the interest of the Academy. He lived to a good old age, and left numerous descendants.

JAMES WADDELL.

As I close, Mr. President, this sketch of Graham, and look over the honored names which are written on the roll of Trustees of 1776, names all of which are justly the pride of Western Virginia, and so many of which still live in their worthy descendants, I feel that the task of giving a meagre account even of their services is far beyond the limits of an occasion like the present, and that all that I can do is to take a passing glance as I go along. And after the name of the venerable Brown, the first of all is James Waddell. The pen of Wirt has made his name familiar to every reader, and I rejoice to say that it is still borne by worthy descendants. He was born of Scotch-Irish parents, in Ulster, Ireland, in July, 1739, and in the fall of the same year was brought over by them to Pennsylvania, in which colony he was educated under favorable auspices. Like Graham, he had the inestimable advantage of a pious mother whose religious training he never forgot. He made fair progress in his studies; but at the age of fourteen he met with an injury which incapacitated him for active labor, and led his parents to afford him the opportunities of a thorough education. He was hunting with his brothers, and chased a hare into a hollow tree. In the excitement of cutting him out, as his brother, says Dr. Foote, was bringing a blow with his axe, James thrust his hand under the edge, and in a twinkling it was severed almost in twain. Hastily gathering up the fingers and part of the hand, and pressing them to the stump, he ran to his parents. The mutilated hand was bandaged, and the wound healed; but the fingers and the lower part of the hand never afterwards increased in size, and were capable of very little action. Thus, as in the case of his eloquent contemporary, Drury Lacy, who lost his left hand in his youth by the bursting of a gun, the Virginia pulpit received two of its most distinguished ornaments.

He attended the Log College of Dr. Finley at Nottingham, Pennsylvania, and studied under the Rev. Mr. Campbell, who was noted for his skill in Greek. Young Waddell thus acquired

that skill in Latin and Greek, and especially in their prosody, which he retained through life, and a knowledge of the Hebrew. At the age of nineteen he left home to teach a school in South Carolina, and on his journey through Virginia called on the Rev. Samuel Davies. The immediate result of the interview was that Waddell agreed to accept a position as assistant in the school of the Rev. Mr. Todd, in the county of Louisa, and to study for the ministry. Another result was that he had the privilege of hearing Samuel Davies, and of lighting his own torch, as Patrick Henry had done before him, at the shrine of that brilliant luminary of the Presbyterian Church. An affectionate friendship existed between them, until it was ended by the early death of Davies.

In 1761 he was licensed by Hanover Presbytery to preach the gospel. His preaching became instantaneously popular. Before the end of the year he received four or five invitations to accept a pastoral charge. In the following year he accepted a call from Lancaster and Northumberland counties, where he remained until 1778, when he was called to Tinkling Spring, and afterwards divided his services between that church and the church at Staunton. After an interval of seven years, influenced by family attachments and domestic causes, he removed in 1785 to the then county of Louisa, near the present Gordonsville, where he remained till his death, which took place in September 1805, in his 66th year; and there he was buried.

In Waddell we have a fair specimen of the Scotch-Irish clergy, to whom Virginia is so deeply indebted on the score of education, of sound scholarship, of vital piety and of generous patriotism. He was critically skilled in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and it is believed in French also, and in the literature of those tongues. It is to the immortal honor of the Scotch-Irish, that, cumbered as they were by the embarrassments of a new settlement in a wilderness distant from the sea, and exposed to its imminent dangers, they would not place the hands of their Presbytery on the heads that would not learn and could not teach, but guarded their pulpits with zealous care, and exacted a high order of attainments from every candidate for the ministry. It would form a characteristic picture of that era to present on canvas a committee of a Scotch-

Irish Presbytery, convened, it may be, in a log house, or in a building rudely constructed of the stones round and about, examining, hour after hour, a candidate for the ministry in the peculiarities of the Latin and the Greek and the Hebrew, in the metaphysical refinements of theology, and in a knowledge of general literature, before he was permitted to enter on a career that then frequently involved personal danger, at all times untiring and self-denying labors, and almost always limited comforts, if not positive poverty, to the very gates of the tomb. Excellent men ! We now enjoy the results of their far-sighted wisdom and of their glorious self-denial. They thought not of present gain, but of the temporal and eternal welfare of those whom Providence had committed to their charge. They only thought of pure morals, of skill in interpreting the oracles of God, and of the diffusion of sound instruction and a pure religious faith among men. Let us ever respect the legacy which they have left us in their glorious example.

Waddell soon became known for his flowing eloquence and his apt illustrations drawn from his general reading. His tall and graceful form, his high pale forehead, his light blue eyes and his fair complexion, all heightened by a sympathetic feeling for that sad injury that had maimed him for life, arrested attention ; and his voice, full and sweet, filled pleasantly the ear ; and his action, at this period of his course, was polished and animated. From childhood his nervous system was delicate. At one period he could hardly lift a tumbler of water to his lips. But the great ailment of his life was the weakness of his eyes. Then came a cloud over his vision, and the researches of learning, and the light of day, and the faces of his wife and children could be seen no more. In this extremity the members of his family would read to him by turns ; and in preparing his discourses he would choose his text, and have the context read to him, and the parallel passages from Cruden ; and then " he would lie at full length, his right arm thrown carelessly over his head, his long fingers moving in measured beats, noting the vacuity or fulness of his thoughts, and the passage of time." After many years of total blindness there came a momentary relief. Seven years before his death, he visited Fredericktown, Maryland, with a view of being operated upon for cataract. "The

immediate effect of the operation," says Dr. Foote, "was less encouraging than had been anticipated, and he returned to his family with scarce the feeblest hope of ever seeing them, and the sweet light of heaven, again. After some time, when removing the bandages from his eyes, he thought he saw with some distinctness the divisions of the window sash, and called one of his daughters to pass her finger along the divisions of the window. By trial, he became convinced that he saw the outlines of objects correctly, though dimly. The excitement in the family was great as the word flew from child to child, '*Father can see!*' The servants caught the excitement, and '*Master can see,*' passed swiftly from mouth to mouth. He caused them all to pass in review before him that he might refresh his heart with a dim sight of those he had ever been used to look upon; and might gain some faint image of those who had been added to his household after the doors of vision had been shut, and of those too whose young bodies were rapidly increasing with their years. That was a day of rejoicing at Belle Grove. The eyes gradually recovered the power of vision sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life, and to enable him to read with properly fitted lenses. But this visit of the blessed light of heaven was of short continuance; the cataract returned."

It was after this return of his blindness that Wirt heard him preach, and wrote that animated account which is printed in all the school-books, and is the staple of one of the most charming letters of the British Spy. Waddell is described in old age as being very tall and spare; his visage long, his forehead towering upward, his face thin, and his eyes blue. He wore long white top-boots, small clothes buckled at the knees, a long loose straight-bodied coat, and a white wig. He was seldom vehement in delivery; often excited, but never boisterous; often deeply pathetic in tone and manner; very courtly in his manners, and used much gesture with both hands.¹ Such was James Waddell, one of the first trustees of your infant institution.

The late Gov. James Barbour is reported to have said that Waddell was the most eloquent man he ever heard with the exception of Patrick Henry.

¹ Dr. Foote's Sketches of Virginia, p. 384.

THE REV. CHARLES CUMMINGS.

Next to Waddell on the list of the trustees appointed by the Presbytery stands the name of the Rev. Charles Cummings. He was in truth a representative of the Scotch-Irish race to which he belonged, of the clergy of the era in which he lived, and of that abnormal magistracy which was maintained during the Revolution in the shape of Committees of Safety, and which was the efficient means for promoting the public as well as the local interests of that struggle. He was born in Ireland about the year 1743, and in early manhood emigrated to Lancaster county in this state, and studied theology, and probably taught, in the family of Dr. Waddell. In 1765 he was licensed by Hanover Presbytery to preach the gospel, and in May 1767 he was called to "Major Brown's meeting-house" in Augusta, where he was duly ordained and installed. As a mark of his early promise it may be said that he received invitations to three different places before he was licensed. In 1773 he accepted a call from the congregations of Ebbing Spring and Sinking Spring on the Holston. The names of those who invited him to this charge have been preserved by the care of the late Gov. David Campbell, and are published by Dr. Foote in his second volume. They are one hundred and thirty-eight in number, and embrace not only the ancestors of the people of Southwest Virginia, but of thousands in all the Southern States. It is a valuable document in the genealogy of the Commonwealth.

Before leaving the Northern Neck Mr. Cummings had married Mildred Carter, a daughter of John Carter of Lancaster; and in 1773, then about thirty years old, he with his family took up his abode in the wilderness of the Holston. His congregations were liable to daily attacks from the Indians. Every Sunday morning, having neatly attired himself in the dress of a minister, he put on his bullet pouch, and with rifle in hand he rode to the meeting-house. There more than a hundred brave men, equipped for instant battle, with their families, were ready to greet him. A guard was set around the house, and Mr. Cummings ascended the pulpit, and taking off his bullet pouch, and carefully placing his rifle within easy reach of his right hand, conducted the usual services. Nor were these precautions idle. During the summer

months the Indians were very troublesome, and the families of the Holston Settlement were collected in log forts for safety. "The one," says Dr. Foote, "to which Mr. Cummings always carried his family was on the land of Capt. Joseph Black, and stood on the first knoll on the Knob road, south of Abington, and on the spot where David Campbell's gate stands. In the month of July, 1776, when his family were in the fort, and he with a servant and wagon and three neighbors were going to his farm, the party were attacked by Indians, a few hundred yards from the meeting-house. Creswell, who was driving the wagon, was killed at the first fire of the Indians, and during the skirmish the two other neighbors were wounded. Mr. Cummings and his servant-man Job, both of whom were well armed, drove the Indians from their ambush, and with the aid of some men from the fort, who hearing the fire, came to their relief, brought in the dead and wounded. A statement has been published in a respectable historical work that on this occasion Mr. Cummings lost his wig. I speak from the information of an eye witness [says Gov. Campbell] when Mr. Cummings came into the fort, in saying that the story has no truth in it." Throughout the Revolution Mr. Cummings was an ardent and active patriot. He was a member of the Fincastle Committee of Safety, and when the county of Washington was organized he was the indefatigable chairman of the Committee of that county.¹ Nor was he averse to actual war. When Col. Christian, in October, 1776, made a campaign against the Cherokees, Mr. Cummings attended the troops, preaching at the stations on the route, his rifle ever at his elbow, and thus was the first preacher of the gospel within the limits of the present Tennessee. As a preacher he was most successful in swelling the number of his flock. He preached for many years, and until very old, "to one of the largest, most respectable, and most intelligent congregations ever assembled in Western Virginia." He continued to preach at Holston until near the time of his death, which occurred in March, 1812, in his eightieth year, and left a large number of

¹ He was also a member of the committee, of which Col. William Christian was chairman, which reported the patriotic and independent address of the Freeholders of Fincastle, on the 20th of January, 1775, to the Continental Congress.—Eds.

respectable descendants. Gov. Campbell, who knew him personally, and had been brought up under his eyes, thus described him: "He was of middle stature, about five feet ten inches high, well set and formed, possessing great personal firmness and dignity of character. His voice was strong and had great compass; his articulation was clear and distinct. Without apparent effort, he could speak to be heard by ten thousand people. His mind was good without any brilliancy. He understood his own system well; spoke always with great gravity, and required it from all who sat under the sound of his voice. He could not tolerate any movement among the congregation after preaching commenced. He uniformly spoke like one having authority, and laid down the law and the gospel with great distinctness as he understood them." And we are told elsewhere that he was a rigid Calvinist of the Old School, strict and even stern in the observance of the Sabbath, and faithful in teaching his children and servants the catechism. For the rest, he has left behind him a gracious memory in the records of his church and in the annals of the Commonwealth.

COL. WILLIAM FLEMING.

Few men served their country with greater zeal and ability than Col. William Fleming, of Belmont, the name of his seat in Boteourt, which he had chosen in honor of one of his ancestral seats in Scotland, and which was added to distinguish him from William Fleming of Cumberland, whom some present may recall, as he was in his latter years on the bench of the Court of Appeals. William Fleming, though not Scotch-Irish, was Scotch, and was born in the town of Jedburgh, on the 18th day of February, 1729. His father was of the noble family of Fleming, who held the barony of Fleming and the earldom of Wigton, and were long famous in Scottish annals. The Flemings were Catholics, and embraced with eagerness the cause of the beautiful Queen of Scots; and in the civil dissensions of her reign were so conspicuous that Sir Walter Scott introduces not only a female of the race as one of the confidential ladies of the Queen, but the then Lord Fleming as one of the chiefs who received Mary on her escape from Lochleven. When the titles of Lord Fleming and Earl of Wigton became extinct by the death of the last possessor without a lineal

male heir, it was believed that the claims of Col Fleming, if properly urged, would have been sustained by the House of Lords ; but our old patriot, who had voted to abolish entails in Virginia, when urged to prosecute his cause was wont to say that he had two objections to such a course : the first was that he preferred the institutions of a republic to those of a monarchy ; and the second was, that he had no idea of sacrificing his other children for the sake of his eldest son who was already well provided for. It is only necessary to say that the earldom of Wigton became extinct, and that at a subsequent period the title of Lord Fleming was revived in favor of one of the family.

Col. Fleming received a thorough training in Latin at a time when Greek was hardly known in the Scotch universities, and in some of his writings which I have seen shows some skill in philology. Having resolved to study medicine he entered the University of Edinburgh, where he completed his course. From his youth he seemed fond of adventure ; and having obtained the berth of surgeon's mate in the British Navy, was in a sharp action with a Spanish man-of-war, during which he received a cut on the face that was never obliterated. His vessel was captured and was taken into a Spanish port, where he and his comrades were treated with great barbarity. It was his good fortune to receive occasional supplies from a noble Spanish lady, whose name he could never learn ; and he has been heard to say in his latter days that he would never turn a human being from his door, if for no other reason lest such a person might possibly be descended from the Spanish lady. In his 26th year, impelled by a desire to visit new countries, and perhaps by the influence of the Scotch friends of Gov. Dinwiddie, who was then governor, he determined to visit Virginia, and reached James river in the summer of 1755, when the spirits of the people were depressed by the defeat of Braddock, and when it was believed that the western country would be the seat of a long and bloody war between England and her colonies on one part and France and probably Spain on the other. Within a month after his landing he resolved to lay aside his medical profession and embark in a military career. On the 25th of August, 1755, about six weeks after the defeat of Braddock, he received from Governor Dinwiddie the commission of ensign in Col. George Washington's Virginia regiment, and served under that officer throughout the whole

of that perilous period. In 1762 he was commissioned by the Governor lieutenant, and served under Major Andrew Lewis, at Fort Chizwell, and in several expeditions of that officer ; and in the same year he was appointed by Gov. Fauquier a captain in the regiment commanded by Col. Adam Stephen. In 1774 he was appointed colonel, and led his regiment to the Ohio with others under the command of Col. Andrew Lewis. At the battle of Point Pleasant he acted a prominent part. It is well known that Col. Andrew Lewis, chief in command, sent forth his brother, Col. Charles Lewis, and Col. Fleming, with a strong detachment in the direction of the approaching enemy, who received them with a destructive volley fired from their hiding places. Both Col. Lewis and Col. Fleming were wounded at the first fire ; but as Col. Lewis and other wounded officers were carried from the ground, Col. Fleming determined to remain at all hazards. When Col. Lewis was brought to the fort, it was soon seen that he was mortally wounded, and that gallant officer died in the course of the morning. The condition of Col. Fleming seemed equally desperate. He received three balls, one of which was in the wrist of the right arm, breaking the bone ; the second was higher up on the same arm ; and the third was in the breast. In his efforts to rally the men, he greatly aggravated the wound in the lungs. When he reached the fort surgical assistance was deemed useless ; and the attention of the surgeons, who were few in number, was directed to cases not thought wholly desperate. Meantime Col. Fleming, who had sunk from exhaustion, rallied a little, and by the aid of his servant dressed his own wounds. The ball in his lungs was never extracted, produced at times acute suffering as long as he lived, and disqualified him entirely from active military service. Whenever he exerted himself, the ball, which had made a cell for itself in the lungs, would appear to move upward the height of two inches, and then fall back again, inflicting severe pain in its progress.

Although unable to endure the active labors of war, he was engaged in the civil service throughout the Revolution. On the 4th of April, 1776, he was appointed by the Committee of Safety Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief of the County of Botetourt. On the formation of the constitution of the State, he was elected

to the Senate from the counties of Botetourt, Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky. He was thus a member of the first General Assembly of the State, and voted in favor of Mr. Jefferson's bill to abolish entails, and of other measures designed to accommodate our institutions to a republican model. At a later period he was appointed by the Assembly one of a commission to adjust disputed land titles in Kentucky, and to settle all claims against the State of Virginia. He was chosen in 1780 a member of the Council and rendered efficient aid in rescuing the public archives from the torch of Tarleton.¹ In 1788 he was a member of the convention of that year called to decide upon the present Federal Constitution and for reasons already assigned voted in favor of the adoption of that instrument. This was his last act of public service. He had now reached the seventh decade of life, and his health had been much impaired by the exposure and the wounds of a military career on the land and on the sea. With the exception of occasional trips to Kentucky, where he owned much valuable land, he spent his last days in the bosom of his family at Belmont, and with the surroundings of a wealthy patriarch. In all his domestic relations he was truly fortunate and happy. Before his removal to Botetourt he married a daughter of Israel Christian of Augusta, one of the early settlers of Augusta, and the father of Col. William Christian, of whom I will speak presently. Seven of Col. Fleming's children reached maturity and survived him. And of these, two, a son and a daughter, were living in 1860.² Col. Fleming died at Belmont on the 5th of August, 1795, aged 66, and was buried in the family burial ground, where his grave, enclosed by a stone wall, may now be seen. It is especially due to the memory of Col. Fleming in its present connexion to state that he was a warm friend of schools and colleges. He took an active part in the success of Hampden Sidney. He urged upon the Assembly the expediency of a high school for the county of Kentucky, which was incorporated with the name of Transylvania, and he was a cordial friend and trustee of this institution. He was a

¹ As a member of the Council he acted as chief executive of the State for a time in 1781, in the temporary absence of Mr. Jefferson from Richmond.—Eds.

² One of his daughters married the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., for many years President of Washington College.—Eds.

lover of books, and owned a good library for that day. His copy of Tillotson, carefully read and annotated by him, is in the possession of his descendants. In stature he was about the middle size; his forehead broad and massy; his nose Roman; his profile strongly marked; his eyes were blue; and his hair dark until touched with years. His teeth were sound to his dying day. He was a patriot without reproach, a brave officer, of great eminence as a physician and surgeon, one of the best of husbands and fathers, and a man whose name and virtues would confer merit on any institution with which he was connected.

COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

One of the early trustees of Liberty Hall before its incorporation was Col. William Preston, a name then confined to the straggling settlements of the Valley, but now well-known throughout the present Union. Who was William Preston? Come with me over the one hundred and thirty-five years last past, and I will answer the question. Let us attend the organization of the county court of Augusta, the Augusta of that day, stretching along the Blue Ridge to the North Carolina line, and from the Ridge to the Ohio and the Mississippi—and a glorious principality it was! That court was held on the 9th day of December, 1745, in the village of Staunton, which was so called, probably by John Lewis, in compliment to the wife of Governor Gooch, who had granted their patents to the early settlers; but whether the maiden name of Lady Gooch was Staunton, or Staunton was the name of her English home, I am unable to ascertain. The commission from the Governor was read; and it appeared that John Lewis was appointed the presiding justice of the court. He was then 67 years old, but he was to live seventeen years more, and to see other counties carved out of his own. Born in the reign of Charles the Second, this venerable patriarch saw the entire reigns of James the Second, of William and Mary, of Queen Anne, of George the First, and of George the Second, and was to count two years of the reign of George the Third—the first king born on the soil of England since the birth of Edward the Sixth—and closed his career at Bellefonte, where his ashes now repose, at the age of

84. By the side of John Lewis sat Hugh Thompson, Robert Cunningham, James Kerr, and Adam Dickinson. John Madison, the father of the future bishop and the uncle of the future president, rises in his place and reads his commission from Thomas Nelson, Secretary of the Colony, as clerk of the new county; for it was not until the date of the Revolution, thirty years later, that the courts assumed the power of appointing their own clerks. The court proceeded to appoint a sheriff, and John Patton was invested with that office. Thomas Lewis, another of your trustees, then in the full flush of manhood, having entered his 27th year, steps forward, and reads his commission as surveyor of the new county, under the sign-manual of President Dawson of William and Mary College, the successor of the venerable Blair in that institution, and is approved by the court. The court holds its sessions from month to month, and at the May term of the following year, 1746, occurred an incident which it is my present province to notice, and which I shall read in the words of the record.

“John Preston came into court and prayed leave to prove his importation, which was granted him; and thereupon he made oath that, at his own charge, he had imported himself, Elizabeth his wife, William his son, and Lettice and Ann his daughters, immediately from Ireland into this colony, and that this is the first time of proving his said right, in order to partake of His Majesty's bounty for taking up land.”

As we contemplate this December and May session of Augusta Court, how devotedly we wish that those patriarchs of our modern State, surrounded, as they then were, by the toils and the dangers of a savage wilderness, could have had a glimpse of the future of a century of years; could have known that the record of a part of the proceedings of that day should be read on such an occasion as the present; could have known that the name of Lewis would be honorably connected in peace and war with the greatest civil and military revolution of the eighteenth century; that the name of Preston would be wreathed with the glories that genius and eloquence and valor could cluster about it; that the names of Patton and Thompson and others would be more generally known than in their own time; and that the name of Madison, which was

known in the colony even before the massacre of 1622, would shine with a radiance as enduring as the records of history !

We thus see that Col. William Preston was born in Ireland, and, as we have reason to believe, in the city of Dublin ; that he may have spent his first years in the shadow of Trinity College, where he played his pranks on that beautiful green which still attracts the admiration of the traveller. He was the only son of John Preston named in the record, who resided in Dublin,¹ and was engaged in mercantile pursuits, and who married a sister of Col. James Patton, of Donegal, Ireland. Col. Patton was a man of enterprise and vigor and was possessed of considerable wealth, and emigrating to Virginia before 1745 obtained from the governor for himself and his partners a grant of 120,000 acres of land in the Valley. He fixed his residence on the south fork of the Shenandoah, and also took up land in the present county of Montgomery ; and in 1755, while on a visit to his lands in that region, was slain by the Indians at Smithfield. The fate of John Preston was hardly more fortunate than that of Patton. He first settled at Spring Hill, afterwards occupied by Dr. Waddell, the blind preacher, and about the year 1743 purchased and occupied a tract afterwards owned by the late General Baldwin. Here in 1747, the year after he had proved his claim to land in virtue of his emigration, he died suddenly, and a neat monument now marks his place of burial. He left a widow and five children, all but one having been born in Ireland. One of his daughters married Robert Breckenridge, the grandfather of Robert and John Breckenridge, those eloquent divines of our own times. Another daughter married the Rev. Dr. John Brown, your second rector, whose eminent sons I have spoken of in their proper places, and concerning one of whom I may now say that, as the representative of the United States at the court of France, he announced to Louis the Eighteenth the celebrated utterance of his government commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine. Another daughter married Mr. Howard, whose eldest son was the first governor of Missouri ; and another married Mr. Smith and was the grandmother of the Mar-

¹ Mr. Grigsby is mistaken in saying that John Preston resided in Dublin. He was from Londonderry.—Eds.

shalls of Kentucky. Thus it seems that though John Preston lived but a short time in the new world, his posterity may be counted by hundreds.

But it is William, the only son of John Preston, that now demands our attention. He enjoyed those advantages of education within the range of a frontier settlement, and especially, as we may suppose, the instructions of Dr. Brown, his brother-in-law, who conducted your Academy. He soon exhibited talents which placed him in after life on a level with the prominent men of that day. At that era, prowess in Indian campaigns was one of the main tests of character, just as in our late contest a wound on the battlefield was a passport to the smiles of beauty. One of his early engagements was that of a surveyor under Washington, and there arose from this connection a friendly feeling between them that was cherished by Washington after the decease of Preston. In 1756 he accompanied Maj. Andrew Lewis in the Shawanese expedition, or the Sandy Creek voyage, as it is sometimes called, which involved greater hardships than any other of our incursions into the Indian territory, and which, though no enemy was present, had nearly resulted in the destruction of the whole party by starvation. The object of the expedition was confined to the breast of Major Lewis; but its aim probably was to build a fort between the Shawanese towns on the Ohio, to destroy those towns, and to punish a race of Indians, who, for a third of a century later than 1756, committed cruel murders within the settlements of Virginia. Of this expedition we fortunately possess an account from the pen of Col. Preston himself. It consisted of about 340 men, commanded by Captains Preston, Hays, one of your trustees, John Smith, Archibald Alexander, the grandfather of the celebrated divine, Robert Breckenridge, Woodson, Overton, Montgomery, and Dunlap, with Capt. Paris at the head of a number of friendly Cherokees; Maj. Andrew Lewis holding the chief command. Maj. David Stuart, the father of good old Col. John Stuart of Greenbrier, accompanied the party. It set out from Fort Fred-eric on the 18th of February, and passing the Bear Garden and Burke's Garden reached the head of Clinch on the 26th, and on the 28th the head of Sandy Creek, which was so crooked that in

15 miles the men were forced to cross it sixty-six times. Their stores were soon exhausted, and their numbers were too great to be fed by hunting. After enduring the utmost extremity of hunger, the men on the 13th of March refused to proceed further, and resolved to return home. Capt. Preston, though feeble from famine, and though his entire company (except the officers) had determined to return, was resolved to carry out the expedition, and proposed the killing of the horses for food; but the men replied that horseflesh might answer, if they were returning, to support them home; but that it was not proper diet to sustain men enduring every hardship on a long march against an enemy. The failure of the expedition was attributed partly to the foul play of the guides; but a sufficient explanation may be found in the fact that so large a body of men left Fort Frederic in winter for a journey of hundreds of miles through a trackless wilderness with provisions for sixteen days only. In this trying scene the conduct of Capt. Preston deserves the highest praise. Neither famine, nor the severities of the season, nor the toil of climbing mountains with tottering limbs, sufficed to dismay him. It was in such a school that Andrew Lewis learned that discipline which enabled him eighteen years later to conduct his army through forests equally dense and over mountains as rough, and at the end of a weary march to gain the battle of Point Pleasant; that Hays, your trustee, learned that intrepidity with which he led his Rockbridge boys to ply the rifle on the heights of Saratoga; and that Preston was taught those lessons of self-command which subsequently marked his course, and which were seen in his march against the Cherokees, at Whitsell's Mills, and at Guilford.

In May, 1774, he was a member of the House of Burgesses; and when Col. Christian was advised by Lord Dunmore to return home, and to use his endeavors to prevent the inhabitants from deserting their homes from fears of the Indian war then impending, and to collect forces for the emergency, he called Col. Preston to his aid, and spoke in warm terms of his energy and skill on that trying occasion. Col. Preston also marched with Col. Christian to the head of Clinch, and remained in active service until the close of October, when the troubles were for a time appeased by the suc-

cessful issue of the battle of Point Pleasant.¹ In 1780 he was engaged with Col. Christian and Col. Arthur Campbell in their respective expeditions against the Cherokees. He was also at the battle of Guilford, and received the congratulations of Gen. Greene for his gallant conduct. Such was the efficiency of his service in protecting the frontiers of Virginia and North Carolina, that the latter state gave him in conjunction with Col. Campbell a vote of thanks for his energy and enterprise.

He lived to see the close of the war of the Revolution, and died at Smithfield, in June, 1783, aged 53 years. He was said to have been a man of imposing presence and of a pleasing address, and to have maintained a serene temper amidst the worriments of the forest and of the field. His height exceeded six feet, his complexion was fair and florid. Like his father, who won the hand of an Irish heiress by the beauty of his person and the elegance of his deportment, Col. Preston was regarded as remarkably handsome. His disposition was humane, as was shown by his treatment of the Indians and the Tories. He was a member of the church; and while living at Smithfield, in Montgomery, would ride once a year as far as Staunton to commune in the Presbyterian church in that town. The style of his letters and of his other writings that have survived him evinces good taste; and a library quite respectable for the times attested his love for letters. Some verses of his which have been seen by persons now living are said to show that he was no unsuccessful votary of the Muses. He married and left eleven children, all of whom have held a high place in the esteem of the world. Of these, five were sons: John, Francis, the father of the late William C. Preston, of South Carolina, James, William and Thomas; and six were daughters: Mrs. Madison, Mrs. McDowell, Mrs. Hart, Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Floyd.

COL. ARTHUR CAMPBELL.

The name which holds the first place on your roll of incorporated trustees, and which justly maintains a prominence on the

¹ He was also a member of the committee of which Col. William Christian was chairman, which drafted the address of the Fincastle Freeholders in January, 1775.—Eps.

score of age and public service among his distinguished contemporaries, is that of Col. Arthur Campbell, of Washington county. He was the son of David Campbell, whose progenitor emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania, and thence to Virginia; and in 1742, in the present county of Augusta, Arthur Campbell was born. When a youth of fifteen he was engaged in protecting the settlers from the Indians; and having been stationed at a fort near where the road from Staunton to the Warm Springs crosses the Cowpasture river, when on one occasion he and his companions sallied forth on a short excursion, was taken prisoner by a party of Indians and remained with them for three years, traversing in that interval the entire region now forming the states of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. This incident, which withdrew him from the opportunities of education and which subjected him to innumerable hardships, was overruled for the advancement of his own reputation and for the benefit of his country. He became intimately acquainted with the geography of the Northwest Territory, which Virginia afterward gained by her arms, and not, perhaps, without his counsels; he learned the habits and the language and the tactics of the Indians and acquired the capacity of enduring fatigue, which was beneficial in his subsequent career. It was also observed that some traits of character, which were ever afterwards observable, might be traced to this period. On his return home to his parents, who had long mourned him as dead, he applied himself to learning, with the energy of a fully developed character, and made remarkable progress in his studies. He had run off from the Indians on the northern lakes, and made his way through a wilderness of two hundred miles to a detachment of the British army that was marching into the Indian country, and he was immediately engaged as a guide. It was his mingling with the British officers, perhaps, that first led him to perceive the importance of knowledge to the attainment of permanent and thorough success. For his conduct in guiding the army he was presented with a thousand acres of land near the present town of Louisville, Kentucky. He pursued his studies with such success as to become in due time a ready and correct writer, and from his early manhood seems to have been a favorite with the General

Assembly, and to have received every manifestation of regard from the people.

A few years before the Revolution he removed with a brother and sister to a farm called the Royal Oak on the Holston river, then a wilderness and an Indian hunting ground; and in 1776 he was chosen by the county of Fincastle, which had been separated from Botetourt four years before, a delegate to the Convention of Virginia, which met in the city of Williamsburg on the 6th day of May. That body, which dissolved the relations of Virginia with the British crown and declared her absolute independence, which instructed her delegates in Congress to bring forward a similar measure in that body, and which framed the first written constitution of a free commonwealth, holds a distinguished place in human history. To have been one of its members, and to have aided in attaining its valuable results, is an honor beside which an inscription in the roll of Battle Abbey dwindles in the comparison, and which will be a pleasing and glorious record for ages to come. And it should be said in honor of your then infant institution, that not less than four of its trustees—Thomas Lewis, John Bowyer, Samuel McDowell, and Arthur Campbell—held seats in that Assembly. And although we know from private letters that there was a disposition on the part of some of the members to shrink from the decisive action of the hour, we also know that the trustees of Liberty Hall acted with the most determined men on that occasion.¹

Col. Arthur Campbell was also a member of the first House of Delegates under the constitution, and was deeply interested in the religious and political questions discussed during that session, embracing those liberal views of which Mr. Jefferson was the representative.

On the organization of Washington county in January, 1777, he was appointed county lieutenant and commander-in-chief; and in 1779 joined Col. Sevier after the battle of Boyd's Creek with a regiment of Virginians, scouring the Cherokee country, and destroying their habitations. He returned home with a firm assurance that the punishment inflicted upon the Indians would secure

¹ He was also a member of the committee that drafted the address of the Freeholders of Fincastle in January, 1775.

the settlers for some time to come. In 1781, at the head of seven hundred mounted riflemen, he led an expedition against the Cherokees, which was entirely successful, and was the first experiment on a large scale of that mode of warfare. The result of the expedition was the negotiation of the Cherokee treaty of that date. His conduct on this occasion was reported to Congress by Governor Jefferson in most flattering terms, and was warmly praised by Girardin in his History of Virginia.

For thirty-five years Col. Campbell resided on his estate on the Holston, and during that time was county lieutenant and the commander of the 70th regiment. He then removed to Yellow Creek, Knox county, Kentucky, where he died of a cancer in the face at the age of sixty-nine. He married the third sister of Gen. William Campbell, the hero of King's Mountain, with whom in peace and war he was so intimately associated. Two of the sons of Arthur Campbell lost their lives during the war of 1812: Capt. James Campbell, who died at Mobile, and Col. John B. Campbell, who fell at Chippewa, where he commanded the right wing under Gen. Scott.

Col. Arthur Campbell was six feet in height, of a grave and dignified demeanor, firm and positive in action, utterly regardless of the ordinary means of acquiring popularity, and though he had some bitter enemies he counted some of the first men of the age among his personal friends. His conversational powers were said to be unusual; and from his temperate mode of life, his presidency for the third of a century in a court of justice, his correspondence with eminent men, and his habits of study, his intellectual faculties were preserved in fine play to the end of his life.

COLONEL WILLIAM CHRISTIAN.

Among the earliest trustees of Liberty Hall, and second on the roll of the incorporated institution, stands the name of Col. William Christian. It was for almost an entire generation one of the foremost in war and peace in the annals of the west, when the west was within the limits of Virginia, and was bounded by the Ohio and Mississippi. He was the only son of Israel Christian, who was among the earlier settlers of Augusta, and was of Scotch-Irish

extraction. Israel Christian followed the business of a merchant, founded a large family, which was united in marriage with the most conspicuous persons of that era, and accumulated a fortune ample enough to endow his children with respectable wealth. He was esteemed by his fellow-citizens, and represented the county of Augusta in the House of Burgesses in 1758, when George Mason was a young member from Fairfax, and Edmund Pendleton was another young member from Caroline, and George Washington was another young member from Frederick. This session of the House was one of the most important ever held in the colony, and was composed of the ablest men who had ever assembled in our councils. Of the proceedings of the body I have spoken elsewhere. Israel Christian died, I believe, before the Revolution, and left, besides his distinguished son William, several daughters, one of whom married Col. William Fleming, of Botetourt, one of your trustees; a second married Judge Caleb Wallace, another trustee; a third married Col. William Bowyer, of Botetourt; and a fourth married Col. Stephen Trigg, of Kentucky. Three counties in Kentucky named in honor of his son and two of his sons-in-law—Christian, Fleming and Trigg—afford a pleasing and lasting remembrance of family worth and distinction.

Col. William Christian was born in Augusta in 1743, was educated with great care by his father, and arriving at manhood was soon employed in the active schemes of offence and defence against the incessant attacks of the Indians. On the organization of the first two Virginia regiments in 1775, he was chosen lieutenant-colonel of the first, of which Patrick Henry was the colonel. To such distinction did he attain as a military man that in May, 1776, he was appointed colonel of the first battalion of Virginia militia, and commander-in-chief of an expedition against the Overhill Cherokee Indians, the troops under his command consisting of two battalions from Virginia and one from North Carolina, which, with other men necessarily employed, composed an army of 1600 men—an extraordinary number for that period. Again in 1780 he commanded another expedition against the Cherokees, and at Double Springs was joined by troops from North Carolina under Col. Sevier, whose original name of Xavier shows his French extraction, and who was a son of the Valley of Virginia. These

marches against the Indians were always successful. In 1781, after the successful expedition of Col. Arthur Campbell against the Cherokees, when it was decided to make a treaty with those Indians, and when it was then not known to whom the authority belonged to make treaties with Indians who roamed through the territories of several states, an application was made to Gen. Greene to appoint a commission for the purpose; and that officer complied with the request, and placed Colonel Christian at its head. It consisted of Col. Christian, Col. Arthur Campbell, Col. William Preston, and Col. Joseph Martin, of Virginia, and of some able men from North Carolina.

But though called into military service at every emergency, he was a member of the House of Burgesses, and participated in the various stages of the disputes that led to the Declaration of Independence. In May, 1774, while in Williamsburg, when the Indian troubles were brewing that led to the Battle of Point Pleasant, he was earnestly entreated by Lord Dunmore to leave his seat in the house and hasten to the West to provide against the threatened danger. He accordingly hastened to the mountains and collected troops with which he marched to the seat of war. When he had successfully accomplished the object in view, he hastened to unite his forces with those of Col. Andrew Lewis; but before he reached Camp Union, the present Lewisburg, Col. Lewis had marched to the Ohio. It is stated by Campbell, though not sustained by other authorities, that if Christian had united his forces with those of Lewis, the chief command would have devolved upon him. He hastened his march, but did not reach Lewis until the midnight after the battle of Point Pleasant, when he found that every arrangement was made for the renewal of the fight next morning. Next day he marched to meet the enemy, who had withdrawn early at the close of the fight the evening before, leaving thirty-three dead bodies which they had not been able to throw into the Ohio.

Like most of the prominent military and political actors of his time, he owned large possessions in Kentucky, whither in 1785 he removed with his family and settled on Bullskin creek, and afterwards on Oxmoor creek, an estate which is still in possession of his family, near the site of the present city of Louisville. Here

his career was destined soon to end. In the year after his arrival a party of Indians stole a number of horses in his vicinity, and he determined to pursue them. He reached a spot near where the town of Jeffersonville in Indiana now is, where he overtook two of the Indians. Col. Christian was riding in front, and was followed by Col. Bullett, his son-in-law, and Major O'Bannon. As Col. Christian dismounted, preparatory to firing, he was shot and killed by one of the Indians; and at the same instant both of the Indians were shot and mortally wounded by Col. Bullett and Maj. O'Bannon. One of the company of the name of Kelly, who ran to tomahawk the Indian whose gun had not been discharged, but who had been mortally wounded, was shot dead by the Indian, who in a dying state sprang to his feet and discharged his rifle. The body of Col. Christian was conveyed home, and was buried in the graveyard on the plantation which is still owned by his grandson. A plain slab marks the spot, and is inscribed: "Col. William Christian was killed in an action with the Indians April 9, 1786, aged 43. This monument was erected to his memory by the filial piety of his son John Henry Christian, who died Nov. 5, 1800, aged 19." So with the century expired the last male heir of William Christian.

When the intelligence of his death was spread through Kentucky, which was then a part of Virginia, and through Virginia proper, and especially in the Valley, where his talents and services were so well known and admired, grief for the sudden extinction of such a master-spirit was profound and general. None felt the loss of such a man at such a conjuncture more keenly than his brother-in-law, Patrick Henry, who wrote to his sister in a strain of pious eloquence which had probably never before fallen from his pen, and which shows that the heart of the orator responded to the tenderest emotions of domestic love. "Would to God," said the sympathizing brother, "I could say something to give relief to the dearest of women and sisters. My heart has felt in a manner new and strange to me, insomuch that, while I am endeavoring to comfort you, I want a comforter myself. I forbear to tell you how great was my love for my friend and brother. I turn my eyes to heaven where he is gone, I trust, and adore with humility the unsearchable ways of that Providence which calls us off this stage

of action at such time and in such manner as its wisdom and goodness direct." And he concludes his letter: "For, indeed, my dearest sister, you never knew how much I loved you and your husband. My heart is full. Perhaps I may never see you in this world. Oh! may we meet in that heaven to which the merits of Jesus will carry those who love and serve him. Such is the prayer of him who thinks it his honor and pride to be your affectionate brother."

Such was William Christian—a successful soldier, where other men would have yielded to despair, and a wise statesman. After the untimely death of Gen. Andrew Lewis, he was regarded as the first military genius of the West, to whom all eyes were turned at the approach of danger. Had he lived to behold the administration of Washington, who greatly esteemed him, he would have been appointed by acclamation to command those expeditions against the Indians which in other hands resulted so disastrously. It is pleasing to state that his descendants in Kentucky are numerous and respectable, and that the estate on which his ashes repose is still owned by his grandson.



GENERAL ANDREW MOORE.

The third name on the roll of incorporated trustees is that of one who long lived in this town, who often ascended this hill and mingled in your deliberations, who fought long and bravely in the armies of the North during the Revolution, who represented Rockbridge many years in the House of Delegates, who was the first representative of Rockbridge in the House of Representatives of the United States, who was the first representative of the Valley in the Senate of the United States, who spent his last days in the shadow of your college, and whose honored dust rests in yonder cemetery. Such a description can apply to one man only, and that man is Gen. Andrew Moore.

His grandfather was one of nine brothers who came over to this country from Ireland between 1740 and 1750, most of whom settled in South Carolina, and all of whom served in the war of the Revolution, in which more than one of them are believed to have fallen. When the brothers came over to America they brought with them an aged female ancestor who could remember the siege of

Derry, during which she had been driven under the walls of that city by the generals of James the Second—a policy which that cruel king adopted with a view of forcing the besieged to surrender; and she used to tell her descendants of the dead bodies beneath the walls, some of them with tufts of grass in their mouths, which they had torn from the earth to appease their hunger.

The father of Gen. Andrew Moore was David, who was an upright and industrious farmer, and who lived at a place in the northern part of Rockbridge, then Augusta, now called Cannicello, where in 1752 Andrew was born. His mother was Miss Evans, who was of Welsh descent. He probably received his early training at the Academy before it assumed the name of Liberty Hall, under the Rev. Dr. Brown, and in early life taught school for a short time; but seeking a more active sphere, he made a voyage to the West Indies, and was cast away on a desert island, where for three weeks his companions and himself were forced to feed, in the extremity of their hunger, on a species of lizard that abounded in the island; but were relieved from their fate by a passing vessel which brought them to the United States. He now turned his attention to law, and, either in the office of Chancellor Wythe in Williamsburg, or under his advisement, pursued his legal studies, and about 1774 obtained a license to practice law. But the courts were soon closed by the Revolution; and in 1776 young Moore entered the army as a lieutenant in a company that was afterwards attached to Morgan's Rifle Corps, of which John Hays, one of your trustees, was captain. It should be observed in passing, as creditable to Rockbridge, that as soon as Moore obtained his commission as lieutenant he went to a log-rolling in the neighborhood and enlisted nineteen men in one day, that being the whole number present capable of bearing arms. He soon obtained his complement of one hundred men, and was ordered to march to the North. Nearly his whole military life was spent in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. In the last mentioned state he was actively engaged in the capture of Burgoyne's army, and was present with his company as a part of Morgan's corps in the battle of Saratoga, which resulted in the surrender of the British forces. After having obtained the rank of Captain, and having served three successive years, as there was a great number

of supernumerary officers, he resigned his commission, and returned home. He now entered the House of Delegates as one of the representatives of Rockbridge, and was a member when the Assembly was driven from Charlottesville by the cavalry of Tarleton.

He was now placed in a position in which he was to acquire his most shining titles to the public regard. The legislature of Virginia from 1780 to 1789, when he retired from the body, was one of the best schools of statesmanship ever offered to a young politician. In that interval nearly all the great questions of that era were discussed and decided. All the leading topics of a republican system in relation to foreign and domestic affairs came before the body. The expediency of a church establishment, assessments for the support of religion, paper money, the payment of taxes in kind, the confiscation of British debts, the regulation of the customs which each State controlled according to its interests, the new judiciary system, the expediency of forming the Articles of Confederation, and at a later day, of amending them, instructions to the delegates in Congress which involved a full discussion of foreign affairs, the mode and means of conducting the war, the military expeditions of the West, the disposition of the public land which extended to the Mississippi and the Northern lakes, the navigation of the Mississippi itself, were some of the topics which tasked the wisdom and the patience of the men of that era. And although our limits will not allow us to trace the course of Gen. Moore through this period with any degree of minuteness, it is due to his memory to say that, while he particularly distinguished himself in support of the act concerning religious freedom in all the phases through which it passed and recorded his name among those who carried this measure on its final passage, his votes on the test measures of that day, which were presented in the action of the House of Delegates on the bills of the revisors and otherwise, are most honorable to him, when viewed in the light which the experience of almost ninety years has cast upon them. He was a member of the Assembly when the resolution convoking the meeting at Annapolis to propose amendments to the existing Articles of Confederation was adopted, and when subsequently the resolution inviting the meeting in Philadelphia of the convention which framed the present Federal Constitution passed the House; and

when that instrument was presented to the States for approval, he was a member of the convention which in June, 1788, met in Richmond to discuss it, and voted to ratify the same in behalf of Virginia. One incident that occurred during the session of the Convention in 1788 is so illustrative of character as to require a passing notice. As the debate in the convention proceeded, the State at large shared in the excitement of the body. The opinions of the members were scrutinized by their constituents; and it became known in Rockbridge that Moore and his colleague, McKee, who was also a trustee of yours, were determined to vote for the adoption of the constitution. Accordingly the majority of the freeholders of the county, who were opposed to that instrument, drew up instructions to Moore and McKee, requiring them to oppose the constitution at all hazards, and forwarded them to Richmond. Those instructions Moore and his colleague refused to obey, and voted to ratify the constitution.¹ This was the first deliberate refusal of a representative to obey the instructions of his constituents that had then occurred in our history, and its flagrancy was the greater, as, unlike the cases of ordinary acts of Assembly, the deed was irrevocable. On his return home he gave his constituents an opportunity of punishing him by appearing as a candidate at the next election; and the result was that he received three votes to one of the opposing candidates. Had Moore and McKee, of Rockbridge, and Thomas Lewis, of Rockingham, Archibald Stuart and Zachariah Johnston, of Augusta, and William Fleming, of Botetourt, all of whom were trustees of Liberty Hall, voted against the ratification of the Federal Constitution, the fate of that paper would have been sealed. It is a fact in the history of this college and of the State, that the Federal Constitution was carried by the vote of the Trustees of Liberty Hall.

At the first election of members of the House of Representatives under the Federal Constitution, he was chosen from the Rockbridge district, and was successively elected till 1797, a period that embraced the entire administration of Washington. Being an active member of one of the two great parties that then divided the

¹ In the election of delegates to the convention the issue of the adoption or rejection of the constitution was distinctly made, and they were therefore clearly justified in refusing to obey instructions subsequently given.—EDS.

country, he declined a re-election to Congress, and with Madison and Giles entered the House of Delegates of Virginia, which was thought a more efficient field for fighting the battle which should determine the fate of the administration of the elder Adams. During his term in Congress he often spoke with ability on the complicated and irritating questions of the day, and ranged himself with the party which was then called Republican. It would be an interesting office to record his speeches and votes as I have traced them on the journals, but our limits wholly preclude the task. In 1798-'99 and 1799-1800, he sustained in the House of Delegates the resolutions of John Taylor, of Caroline, which were drawn by Mr. Madison, and the famous Virginia Report which has held so large a place in our political annals. On the election of Jefferson to the Presidency he returned to Congress and took his seat in the House of Representatives in 1803, in which he remained one year, when he was chosen by the General Assembly a Senator of the United States, in which office he served until 1809, when he withdrew from the body, and was soon after appointed United States Marshal for the district of Virginia, and held that office until his death, on the 14th day of April, 1821, in the seventieth year of his age.

Gen. Moore was in his day the representative man of the West. Every civil and military office within the gift of Virginia and the people was freely bestowed upon him. His public career began in 1776, and from that time to the date of his death, in 1821—a lapse of forty-five years—he can hardly be said to have been out of the public service. As a soldier, as a member of the House of Delegates, as a member of both Houses of Congress, as a brigadier and major-general, and as the United States Marshal of Virginia, he performed his various duties with the approbation of his country. Though passing the ordeal of twenty-nine elections in the course of his life, he was invariably successful, excepting that he failed to be elected a member of the former Executive Council by a single vote—an office which, had it been conferred upon him, he would have promptly declined. At an early date he was chosen brigadier-general, and in 1809 he was chosen major-general. He was a most successful lawyer; and there is now living a venerable

lady,¹ at the age of ninety, who can recall his return from distant courts with his saddle-bags full of coin, which he would empty on the bed, and, casting a corner of the quilt over the glittering mass, would leave it in charge of his wife. He was a man of a large frame, not above the middle height, with dark gray eyes, and at special times paid much attention to his dress, as was the case with all whom he associated with abroad. Towards the close of the last century and in the early part of the present, he wore ruffles not only on the breast, as was common in our own times, but at the wrists; and shorts buckled at the knee, and long silk stockings. When he took his departure for Congress, which held its sessions during his term of service in New York, Philadelphia and Washington, there was quite a stir in your pleasant town. A coach with four spanking bays would be driven up before his door, and on the box, neatly attired for a journey and skilled in the mysteries of the whip, would be seated Jim Berry, a white man, and in the rear of the coach would follow the baggage wagon, driven by one of his slaves. He married Sally, the eldest daughter of Col. Andrew Reid, who long survived her husband, and was known and loved by many within the sound of my voice. He was always the advocate of a thorough education, and observing the dawning genius of his young neighbor, Archibald Alexander, afterwards so celebrated as a divine, he earnestly exhorted him to proceed to Princeton and to pursue his studies in the college of New Jersey. And I may mention here a fact which has an intimate connection with this institution. It happened that when Washington received the grant of the James River shares from the State of Virginia, Moore was a member of the House of Representatives, and was sent for by the Father of his Country to be consulted about appropriating the shares to the use of some literary institution above the falls of the rivers. Gen. Moore presented the claims of Liberty Hall, and after a consultation with his colleague from the Washington district, the late Gen. Francis Preston, who united with him in urging upon Washington the claims of the Academy, he wrote to the trustees, who presented their case in the able argument already noticed in the sketch of Graham, and received that generous benefaction

¹ Mrs. McCampbell, the sister of Mrs. Moore.—EDS.

which you still enjoy. I may also add that he probably drew your charter, and certainly guarded and guided it in its passage through the Assembly. It was my fortune to see and know this noble patriot in his venerable old age. Rather more than half a century ago, and not long before his death, he visited Norfolk on official business, performing, by the way, the whole journey on horseback; and, young as I then was, I shall never forget the pleasing impression which he made upon me. He was the first human being I ever knew who was born west of the Blue Ridge, and who lived in the mountains; and to my simple inquiries about the mountains and the Indians he made kindly answers that gratified me much. He was cheerful in conversation, and although he was employed during the day with the perplexing details of business, in the evening at the house of my mother he appeared free from care, and with his pleasant address and charming talk gained the regard of us all. He ever enjoyed the cordial and unbounded confidence of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, all of whom survived him several years.

Such was Andrew Moore. Sprung from the Scotch-Irish race, he was ever true to its leading characteristics. His private life was without a blemish. In the flush of youth he participated in the battles fought in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and he saw the flag of Britain lowered on the hills of Saratoga, and the proud and confident hosts of Burgoyne with all their artillery and baggage the reward of the first great victory ever won by the arms of his country—a victory in the winning of which the corps to which he belonged rendered essential service. In the House of Delegates he was the constant friend and earnest advocate of civil and religious liberty, and actively upheld those laws that constitute the base of a Republican system. And in Congress, in both houses of which he held a seat for years, he never uttered a sentence or gave a vote that did not reflect credit upon his head and his heart, and that his descendants may not contemplate with a becoming pride. It is grateful to know that the name of such a man has been illustrated in the persons of his children, and is known and honored in our own times.

COL. SAMUEL McDOWELL.

We come to a particular name in the roll of the incorporated trustees which will ever be held in grateful remembrance in the Valley. Take from the history of this beautiful region the name of McDowell, and its connections with the Greenlees, the Reids, the Moffetts, the Prestons, the Moores, and others of whom I have not time to tell, but which your own memory will supply, what a blank would appear in that catalogue of stars whose light shines upon us so delightfully from every sphere of genius, moral worth, valor, true piety and high statesmanship, and which, we fondly hope, will shine upon our children for generations and ages to come!

The ancestor of the McDowells was Ephraim, who with his wife, both well stricken in years, with his daughter Mrs. Greenlee and her husband, and with his sons James and John, came from Ireland, by the way of Pennsylvania, to Augusta in 1737. They were of the Scotch-Irish race. The venerable parents went down to the grave early and in peace. John, the younger son, married Magdalene Woods, and was a skilful surveyor and man of business; and while engaged under favorable auspices in founding a fortune for his posterity, was slain suddenly by the Indians in 1743, near the junction of the North River with the James, near where the Paxton farm now is. Thus was he cut off, after a brief residence of six years in his new home. He was buried in the cemetery surrounded by a stone wall, which may still be seen near the main road leading from Staunton to this town, and in which a rude contemporaneous head-stone bears the inscription: "Here lies the body of John McDowell, deceased December 1743." He left two sons, Samuel, your trustee, and James; and a daughter Martha, who married Col. George Moffett, another of the worthiest of your trustees. Of James, the younger son of John, I will only say in passing that he married Miss Cloyd, and died in 1770, at the age of thirty-five, leaving three children, one of whom, James, married Sarah Preston, the granddaughter of John Preston, the ancestor of the Prestons, and the daughter of Colonel William Preston, another of your trustees, and whom you will recognize at once as the well known Col. James McDowell, whose dignified person was to be seen at your board at the annual celebrations of forty years, and

whom I can recall in his handsome suit of blue and buff as he entered your hall or sat on your platform nearly half a century ago ; and whose memory will ever be fresh not only on account of his long and faithful services as a trustee of the college, but as the father of that eminent and ever to be beloved and lamented christian statesman, the late Gov. James McDowell, whose eloquence, uttered on the floor of Congress, has been likened to that of Fisher Ames when the illustrious orator of the north spoke in defence of the British treaty, and drew tears from the accomplished Winthrop then filling the speaker's chair as it has rarely been filled before or since ; who, like his father, was a pupil and a trustee of your institution, and whose memory, as fresh and as perennial as these lovely mountains that look down upon his ashes, has woven one of the brightest chaplets for the brow of his *alma mater*, and for the brow of another, greater still, the common mother of us all.

But our present office is with Samuel, the eldest son of John, who was one of the trustees of 1776, as well as one of those of the incorporated institution. He was born in 1733 in Augusta, studied law, and, like most of his contemporaries of that era, took an active part in the different expeditions against the Indians. He was at the battle of Point Pleasant, where with his comrades he fought bravely. At the mature age of forty-one, after having served a period in the House of Burgesses, and witnessed the parliamentary conflicts that preceded the Revolution, he took his seat in the March convention of 1775, and brought with him to that body in connection with his colleague Thomas Lewis the truly patriotic resolutions drawn by the Rev. Mr. Balmain, and adopted by the freeholders of Augusta on the 22nd of the previous month, which made a decided protest against the right of parliament to tax the colonies, and highly approved the conduct of the first delegates to the Congress. These resolutions, strong and patriotic as they were, very wisely abstained from the introduction of topics which were then deemed premature, and had no direct relation to independence. They took the true ground held in the state papers sent forth by Congress and the House of Burgesses at that immediate period. Indeed, at that session of March, 1775, so far from thinking of independence, the convention adopted a resolution of thanks to Lord Dunmore which I now read : "Resolved,

unanimously, that the most cordial thanks of this colony are a tribute justly due to our worthy governor Lord Dunmore, for his truly wise, noble and spirited conduct on the late expedition against our Indian enemy; a conduct which at once evinces his Excellency's attention to the true interests of this colony, and a zeal in the Executive department, which no dangers can divert, or difficulties hinder, from achieving the most important services to the people who have the happiness to live under his administration."

Colonel McDowell was also a member of the convention of July of the same year, when the troubles were darkening, and when the animated contest occurred on the resolutions of Patrick Henry for putting the colony into a posture of defence, and in support of which he uttered his famous exclamation, "Give me liberty, or give me death." Believing the plan of Henry to be more in unison with the demands of the moment than the grander and more costly scheme proposed by Col. Nicholas, he voted for the creation of the first two Virginia regiments and for Henry as commander-in-chief. On his return home he had a tall poplar tree cut down and skinned, and set up in his yard as a liberty pole—the first visible standard of opposition to the British government ever reared in the Valley.

In the Convention of December, 1775, he again took his seat, as the senior member of the Augusta delegation. The death of Peyton Randolph, who had presided in the previous conventions, and who had received the special thanks of Augusta, occurred in October, and the first duty of the body was to elect a successor; and when Paul Carrington proposed the name of Col. Pendleton, McDowell cast his vote for that gentleman. A few days after the meeting the battle of the Great Bridge took place, and Col. McDowell was one of those who gave cordial praise to Woodford for his gallant conduct on that occasion. Though Col. McDowell had approved the scheme of Henry in preference to that of Col. Nicholas at the preceding session, he now deemed war as imminent, and voted to raise seven additional battalions, and for the officers who should command them. He also voted for the reappointment of the Committee of Safety, which was charged with the executive duties of the Colony.

But it was in the May Convention of 1776 that Samuel

McDowell had the opportunity of connecting his name with some of the most memorable transactions of the eighteenth century. He and his colleague Thomas Lewis had brought with them from the county committee of Augusta a representation, as it is called on the journals of the Convention, which deserves a notice even in the rapid review which I am compelled to take of the most important events in our annals. It is the first deliberate expression of the policy of establishing an independent State government and a permanent confederation of the States which our parliamentary journals contain ; for, although several counties had expressed a resolution to sustain the Conventions in all measures which should be deemed necessary for the public weal, and had shown a spirit equal to every emergency, none had made so direct and so explicit a representation of the mode of redress which the crisis required. I quote the abstract of the representation which was offered by the Augusta delegates on the 10th of May, 1776, and which is thus rather rudely condensed on the journal of the Convention : "A representation from the Committee of the County of Augusta was presented to the Convention and read : Setting forth the present unhappy situation of the country ; and, from the ministerial measures of revenge now pursuing, representing the necessity of making the confederacy of the united colonies the most perfect, independent and lasting ; and of framing an equal, free and liberal government, that may bear the test of all future ages." This memorial was presented five days before the grand committee which had been previously appointed made that report recommending a declaration of independence and the formation of a State government wholly independent of the British Crown. This memorial from Augusta, as read to the House, I have never seen, nor do I believe that it has been seen by any one now living. It may possibly be found in the clerk's office of the present Augusta county, or in the archives of the clerk of the House of Delegates in Richmond, and deserves to be stereotyped as the Magna Charta of the West. It was the fortune of Samuel McDowell to vote in favor of a dissolution of the union with Great Britain, of the Declaration of Rights, and of the first written constitution of a free commonwealth. In all the measures of that

epoch he displayed wisdom and courage, and was most zealous in making preparation for the war then impending.

In October, 1776, he was a member of the first House of Delegates under the constitution and cordially coöperated with Jefferson and George Mason in carrying through the bill abolishing entails, and in regulating religion, and in putting the new State on a republican tack. This was the most important session of the Assembly which had then been held in the colony, and it is proper to say that Samuel McDowell embraced and carried out the broadest views of a Republican system. A single illustration will show that the impolicy of such laws as those which regulated entails and the right of primogeniture was no new thought of his. On the death of his father in 1743, more than the third of a century before the passage of the acts regulating descents and abolishing entails, he became the sole heir of all his lands; but instead of appropriating the whole to his own use, as was then invariably done by common consent, he divided the patrimony equally with his brother and sister. After leaving the Assembly he was employed in the military service; and at the battle of Guilford, where his eldest son John was also present, commanded a regiment from Augusta. During the engagement he showed great gallantry, and had the men under his command behaved with equal spirit, Cornwallis, who was nearly taken as it was, would have given us no more trouble. On that field McDowell beheld the daring valor of the British Colonel Webster, who was the life and soul of the opposing host, and who was destined to end his career on that field; and though we should speak in a subdued tone of a generous enemy, as Webster assuredly was, it is due to the truth of history to say, what has never before been uttered to the public ear, and what I have from the best authority, that, although that officer did not fall by the aim of a Scotch-Irish rifle, he yielded to the ball and eight buckshot of a long ducking gun fired by a Presbyterian elder, the late Col. William Morton, of Charlotte, whose father, little Joe Morton, of pious memory, was the first to receive Samuel Davies on his first visit to Charlotte, then a part of Lunenburg.

At the close of the war Col. Samuel McDowell removed to Kentucky, which, it must be kept in mind, was as much a county of Virginia as the neighboring county of Botetourt now is, where

he was chosen the circuit judge of his district, and served a long term on the bench, dying on the 25th of October, 1817, at the age of 84. At the time of his death it was estimated that he had more than one hundred descendants in Virginia and Kentucky. He married in early life Mary McClung, and a daughter of this marriage married Col. Andrew Reid, one of the heroes of Point Pleasant, and a lifelong patron of your college. And a son of Andrew Reid was that excellent citizen whose name has been so long bound up with that of Lexington far and wide, the late Col. Samuel McDowell Reid, who was for an entire generation the clerk of the court of Rockbridge, as his father had been before him, who was the ornament and dear delight of the social sphere, and who has but lately departed from us in the fulness of years and in the possession of those precious treasures which patriotism and unblemished worth and generous piety lead in their train; nor should I pass over a sister of McDowell Reid, who married Gen. Andrew Moore of whom I have already spoken at length, and who has not many years gone from us; and one of whose sons, having the full name of his great-grandfather Samuel McDowell, I had the honor of acting with in the public counsels of forty odd years ago, but whose full name I shall not mention, because he is living, and is sitting by my side, and seems to wax strong even in the midst of the years. Nor can I pass over a sister of McDowell Reid,¹ who at the age of ninety is still living not far from my own residence in Charlotte, and from whose words I have gathered many things which had otherwise been lost forever, and who presents to our modern eyes something of the image of her venerable ancestor.

GEN. JOHN BOWYER.

But, as the time presses, I must give my likenesses of the venerable founders of your institution on a smaller scale; and I now introduce a name which has been familiar in our councils for more than a hundred years, and which still exists among us. I speak of General John Bowyer. His ancestors emigrated early into Augusta, and were of the Scotch-Irish race, though, like most of

¹ Mrs. McCampbell.—Eds.

that race, they were from an Anglo-Saxon stock, and appear in the secular and religious records of the time. Michael Bowyer was one of the committee that reported the famous memorial of the freeholders of Augusta of February 1775, was a member of the House of Delegates under the new constitution, and ten years later voted for the act concerning Religious Freedom. But our present purpose is with Gen. John Bowyer, your trustee, who was born in Augusta, as Augusta then was, and received a liberal education. In his young days he taught school for a season, but after his marriage devoted his time to agriculture and to public life. In 1775, and subsequently, he was appointed by Presbytery to collect funds and perform other offices connected with the establishment of the Academy, and was one of the trustees of 1776, as also one of those under the incorporated institution.

He was now to enter on a political career that continued with occasional intermissions to the close of the century. In the March convention of 1775, he, with Andrew Lewis for a colleague, represented the county of Botetourt, and in the July and December conventions of the same year he also appeared as a representative from Botetourt, and thus bore a part in all those important measures that led the way to independence, and which I have mentioned already in detail. And in the memorable convention of May 1776, he took his seat with Patrick Lockhart as his colleague, his old associate Andrew Lewis having been appointed brigadier-general by the Congress. I have already intimated that there was a disposition shown by some of the members to recoil from the decisive measure of a declaration of absolute independence of the British Crown; but of this question, as well as of all others brought forward by the leaders of the Revolution, Gen. Bowyer was a consistent and steady supporter. When the first Assembly under the new State constitution met in Williamsburg in October 1776, he again took his seat in the body, and gave a cordial support to Jefferson, Mason, and Wythe, in devising and adopting those measures which a change from a monarchical to a republican system had rendered indispensable. He continued in the Assembly at intervals until the adoption of the Federal constitution of 1788, and cordially supported the bills reported by the revisors. As I have more than once detailed the nature of the bills passed

by the Assembly from the adoption of the State constitution to the close of the century, I will merely say, by way of a schedule of the public life of Gen. Bowyer, that he voted for the celebrated resolutions of Patrick Henry for putting the Colony into a posture of defence, and for organizing the first two Virginia regiments, and for the bill creating seven battalions, for the establishment of the Committee of Safety, for casting off the allegiance of Virginia to the British Crown, for the Declaration of Rights, and for the Establishment of a Commonwealth under a written constitution of its own ; for the bill abolishing entails, and for other measures equally important in the organization of a republican government ; closing his political career by recording his vote in favor of the resolutions of '98-'99, and for the famous report of '99-1800.

When the federal government went into operation, he acted with the Republican party, and opposed some of the leading measures of the Washington and Adams administrations. After the close of the eighteenth century he did not leave his beautiful home on Thorn Hill for any public employment, so far as I can ascertain, and died at an advanced age.¹ Though married twice, he left no children, and bequeathed his estate to his nephew. Yet, though the direct line of descent was broken, it may be observed as a historical fact, that in every organic State convention of Virginia since his decease the name of Bowyer has been borne by an able and patriotic representative.

THOMAS, ALEXANDER AND ARCHIBALD STUART.

We now come to a name which was borne by three friends and trustees of the Academy ; and as they were closely connected by blood and were united in life in their affections to each other and to this college, so I will join them in the same sketch. Stuart is one of the oldest and most exalted names of Scotland ; and if it cannot vie in antiquity with that of Douglas, "the dark gray man" of the Scottish legends, it rose higher in the scale of office, and for more centuries than I can tell, furnished kings for the throne, and

¹ He died in 1805.—Eds.

heroes for the field, and dames whose beauty flashed for a season from the throne of France as well as of Scotland, and dazzled every beholder, and impelled brave men and wise women to deeds which sicken and sadden our hearts to this hour.

The first of the race in Scotland was, as the name implies, a steward, a master of the household of the sovereign, an office which your Academy had in its earliest days and which my own grandfather filled ; and so faithfully did the Scotch steward perform his duty, that his descendants occupied that throne before which the ancestors had bent the knee ; and as he was a faithful steward so we may say that those who have borne his name in this lovely Valley have not forgotten the virtues of their distant progenitor, but have ever approved themselves most competent and faithful stewards of the interests which the people have committed to their charge. The Stuarts, not the men that our British ancestors expelled from the British throne, but your trustees of whom I have to give an account, are Thomas and Alexander Stuart, and Archibald, the son of Alexander. Thomas and Alexander were the sons of Archibald Stuart, who was of Scotch-Irish extraction, but was born in the north of Ireland, and when of age became concerned with one of the Irish *émeutes* of the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Compelled to leave Ireland, he came to Pennsylvania, where he remained seven years ; but having been relieved by a general act of amnesty, he sent over for his family, and in 1738 removed with them to the present county of Augusta. His wife was Janet Brown, a sister of the Rev. John Brown, the second Rector of the Academy. He was an industrious and successful farmer, and left to each of his children, as appears by his will on record in the clerk's office of Augusta, a competent estate ; having died in 1759. Of the three sons whom he left behind him, Benjamin, Thomas and Alexander, were descended many of those who have so long borne the name in Eastern as well as in Western Virginia. Thomas, whose name precedes the others on the roll of trustees, was born in Pennsylvania about 1732, and coming to Virginia with his father engaged in farming, and spent a useful and pious life, leaving a large family of sons and daughters, one of the latter of whom became the wife of the Rev. Dr. Henry Ruffner, who was

the sixth Rector of the college, and whose learning and abilities were so much admired by his contemporaries.¹

Major Alexander Stuart, the second of your trustees of the name, was born in Pennsylvania, in 1735, and at the age of four accompanied his father to Virginia. It is probable that he was a pupil of the Academy under Brown or Graham. When the war of the Revolution began, he entered warmly into the military service, and was a major of a regiment of Rockbridge and Augusta men at the battle of Guilford, and from some accident to the colonel led his men into the battle. During the engagement, in which he behaved with great gallantry, as I know on the authority of the late Gen. Blackburn who was present on the field, he received several wounds, had his horse killed under him, and fell to the ground. While thus prostrated and unable to extricate himself, he was made a prisoner, and was conveyed to one of the prison-ships lying off the coast of North Carolina, where he was confined for six months. He endured great hardships during his imprisonment, but was at length exchanged. He was a man of gigantic stature, and of extraordinary strength; and his sword, a most unsightly and ponderous weapon which common men would wield with difficulty, is still preserved, with the pistols which he used at Guilford, among the heirlooms of his descendants.

After the close of the war he lived quietly on his estate, ever attending punctually to the duties assigned him in relation to the Academy, and died in a good old age, beloved and respected by all; leaving four sons and several daughters. These sons were Judge Archibald Stuart of Augusta, Judge Alexander Stuart of Missouri, Robert Stuart of Rockbridge, and James Stuart whose descendants live in Mississippi. Before I speak of Judge Archibald, your trustee, I pause for a moment, under the impulse of a patriotic feeling which I am sure will not be censured here, on the name of the second son Judge Alexander Stuart. This gentleman was the father of the late Archibald Stuart of Patrick, who was in Congress from the district of that name, who was long a member of the General Assembly, and was a member of the Virginia Convention of 1829-'30. I was with him in public life forty odd

¹ Mrs. Ruffner was the grand-daughter, not the daughter, of Thomas Stuart. Her father was Captain William Lyle.—W. H. R.

years ago, and recall with interest his stalwart form, his manly bearing, and the fearlessness with which he expressed his opinions in debate. And he has another claim to our recollection—a claim that will never be forgotten—as the father of Gen. James Ewell Brown Stuart, who has a brilliant place in the history of that great contest which has recently closed—the grandest in the history of the race to which we belong, and which will be studied by posterity with feelings of admiration mixed with the tenderest emotion. And it may be stated at this literary celebration, as a coincidence in the ancestral relations of two of the gallant generals of the Southern Confederacy, that, as the ancestor of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston gave to the college of Hampden Sidney the land on which it was built, so the ancestor of Gen. James Ewell Brown Stuart bestowed upon your institution the ground which it occupied on its transfer to its present site, and of which Dr. Campbell has left so graphic a description.

But of the Stuarts on your roll the name of Judge Archibald Stuart holds the foremost rank. Your college was his *alma mater*; and as he grew in years and renown you called him to her side. Though thirty-eight years have passed since his death, there are some now present who can remember his dignified presence at your annual commemorations. He was, as before observed, the eldest son of Maj. Alexander Stuart and of Mary Patterson of Augusta, and was born about nine miles southeast of Staunton on the 19th day of March, 1757. His boyhood was spent in Augusta, but his father having removed to the neighborhood of Brownsburg in Rockbridge, Archibald became a resident of this county, and was one of the pupils of the Academy before it had assumed the name of Liberty Hall. In the fall of 1776 he became a student of William and Mary College, and was during a part of his college course an inmate of the family of Bishop Madison. In connection with the late Chief Justice Marshall, the late Judge Spencer Roane, the late Bushrod Washington, with Samuel Hardy, who died abroad suddenly in the public service and whose name Virginia has given to one of her counties, with John Nivison, and others who became eminent in the field and in the council, he aided in forming the Phi Beta Kappa Society, which gave a branch to Harvard, which still flourishes in other northern colleges, and which, though for

more than half a century extinct in the seat of its birth, has been reorganized in its early home. When lower Virginia was overrun by the enemy, and the college exercises were suspended, young Stuart was the president of the Society, and as such was entrusted with the seal of the institution. Having been forced to leave Williamsburg, he went to North Carolina, and joined the army a short time before the battle of Guilford, and under the command of his father was present in that engagement. During the battle he had the seal of the Phi Beta Kappa in his possession; and, as the Society became extinct in the college, he retained it during his life; and it was not until many years after his death that it was found in a secret drawer of an old escritoire, and was then restored by his son the Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart to the Society, which, after a lapse of seventy-five years, had been revived in that college.

After leaving the army young Stuart pursued the study of the law with Mr. Jefferson, and, having obtained his license, settled first in Rockbridge. In the Spring of 1783 he was a candidate for the House of Delegates, and lost his election by thirteen votes; but visiting Botetourt on business two or three days after his defeat, the citizens of that county insisted on his being a candidate on the ensuing Monday, and elected him one of the members of the county. He took his seat in the House of Delegates in 1783, and was returned in 1784 and 1785 from Botetourt, when he removed to Augusta, which was his abode for the rest of his life.

The years which he spent in the House of Delegates were those in which, as we have stated more than once already, the test questions of a political system were to be discussed and decided. Mr. Jefferson, on leaving the State for the French mission, committed the revised bills which he had reported from the committee of revisors to the charge of Mr. Madison, and that gentleman was their coryphæus on the floor. There was an able and active opposition, especially on the subjects of religious assessments and religious freedom. Indeed, of all the acts reported by Mr. Jefferson, hardly excepting the statute of descents, the act concerning religious freedom was the most important. And after a tedious postponement its fate was to be decided at the session of 1785. Mr. Madison put forth all his powers in its support; and although not a word of the debate which took place on the 17th day of December

has come down to us, there is a recollection of an uncommonly tall young man with long dark hair and dark eyes, who wrestled manfully with the opponents of the bill, and sustained Mr. Madison through that perilous day. That young man was Archibald Stuart. The bill passed the House of Delegates by a vote of 74 to 20, and among its friends were three trustees of Washington College—Andrew Moore, Zachariah Johnston, and Archibald Stuart, all having been pupils as well as trustees of the institution. He represented the county of Augusta in the House of Delegates in 1786 and 1787, during which were passed the memorable resolutions convoking the meeting at Annapolis, and afterwards the convention in Philadelphia, which framed the Federal Constitution.

Having by his vote on these resolutions laid the corner-stone of the new federal system, he beheld with absorbing interest the progress of the superstructure; and when the new plan, which seemed so beautiful to the eye, with its checks and balances, was published to the world under the auspices of Washington, he resolved to enter the convention which Virginia had summoned to decide its fate. He was accordingly returned to the convention of 1788 by the county of Augusta, and voted in that body in favor of the constitution. A single fact will show the zeal which he displayed in securing the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Learning only a day before the election that the candidates for the convention in Botetourt would be chosen without an explicit pledge to vote for the ratification of the constitution, he mounted his horse and rode night and day, a distance of seventy-five miles, until he reached the court-house of that county. The poll was already opened, but he sought an intermission of the voting until he could address the people on the impolicy of sending uncommitted delegates to the convention; and such was the effect of the speech that the voters exacted from the candidates a pledge to sustain the constitution, which they faithfully redeemed.

On his return from the convention, he withdrew from public employments, and devoted his energies to the practice of the law, in which he was uncommonly successful. He watched, however, with intense solicitude the workings of the new Federal Constitution to which he was so much attached; and in the interpretation of its

powers coincided with the views of Mr. Madison, with whom during his term of service in the Assembly and in the Federal convention he had formed an intimate and affectionate friendship. Accordingly, in 1797, when it was seen that the battle for supremacy must be transferred from Congress to the legislatures of the States, he was chosen by the republican party to a seat in the Senate of Virginia; and in 1798-99 gave a cordial support to the resolutions of John Taylor of Caroline, which are now known to have been from the pen of Madison; but he did not vote upon the celebrated report drawn by Madison and adopted by the Assembly in the following year, as he had been elected in the interval a judge of the General Court.

On the bench of that court he sat for nearly the third of a century, and performed the duties of the office with ability and integrity and to the general acceptance of the people. It was the frequently expressed opinion of the late Judge Briscoe G. Baldwin, who was himself distinguished at the bar, in the Senate, and on the bench, and whose manly form and genial spirit I recall as I visit this region of our State of which he was so long the bulwark and the dear delight, that "the judgment of Judge Stuart was but little if at all inferior to that of Chief Justice Marshall; and that if he had been placed in a position to require the constant exercise of all his faculties, he would have been one of the most eminent judges of his time."

It may be observed that, as Albemarle was one of the counties of Judge Stuart's judicial district, he often spent a night at Monticello with Mr. Jefferson, whose revised bills he had so earnestly defended on the floor of the House of Delegates, and whose administration he had so ably upheld. Their relations were intimate and confidential; and the form of a constitution for Virginia which Mr. Jefferson communicated to the Judge is still preserved among his papers. He was the Madison elector in 1808 and in 1812; the Monroe elector in 1816 and in 1820; the Crawford elector in 1824; and the Adams elector in 1828. When the judicial circuits were reorganized in 1831, he declined a reelection to his seat on the bench, and on the 11th of July of the following year this excellent man passed away.

In the intervals of his busy and arduous career he cultivated a

taste for literature and science. To him Mr. Wirt is indebted for some exceedingly graphic sketches of Patrick Henry and his contemporaries, with whom he had lived in intimate connection ; and it was from his reputation for mathematical science that the Assembly appointed him a commissioner with Gen. Martin and Chancellor Taylor to run the dividing line between Virginia and Kentucky, and that in early life the mathematical chair in the College of William and Mary was offered for his acceptance. And I have always understood that he was one of those brilliant writers whose articles gave to the first volumes of the *Richmond Enquirer*, published in the earlier part of the present century, a reputation previously unknown in the annals of American journalism.

He never entirely relinquished the dress which was popular among gentlemen in the early days of the republic, and especially among those who were in the public councils, and from whom was exacted a stricter attention to the toilet than from the worthy burghesses of our own times. His hair was usually combed back from his forehead and ended in a queue. Until a short time before his death he wore breeches that buckled at the knee, and fair topped boots. In his latter days, his once dark hair had become white, and his appearance was commanding and venerable. In the general aspect of his person he is said to have had a strong resemblance to General Jackson, but was on a much larger scale. It was only in his old age that I saw and knew personally this estimable man. His appearance made a deep impression upon me, and his conversation was most engaging ; and as you listened to his clear and instructive talk, and especially as you rose to take leave of him, the feeling of respect and veneration which he inspired was softened by the reflection, that he was one of the few survivors of those great men who laid the foundations of our institutions, and gave them their form and presence, and nearly all of whom had gone before him, and that he could abide but a short time longer with us. And this fear was soon realized, as before the lapse of two years he departed from us. He married, in 1791, Miss Eleanor Baldwin, a daughter of Col. Gerard Briscoe of Frederick county, Virginia, formerly of Montgomery county, Maryland. Her two sisters married Dr. Cornelius Baldwin and

Judge Hugh Holmes—names well known to our State in literature and in law.

THOMAS AND ANDREW LEWIS.

And now, Mr. President, pausing for a moment at the name of the Rev. Charles Cummings, who was of the Scotch-Irish Pennsylvania stock, and who preached on the North Mountain, at Hebron, and at Bethel, and of William Irwin, of the same Pennsylvania stock, where his name still abides with honor, we come to the names of two brothers, who were prominent in their own day and generation in the East as well as in the West, and whose memory deserves to be held in lasting remembrance. What a crowd of recollections come upon us at the mention of the names of Thomas Lewis and his brother Andrew! They too were of the Scotch-Irish stock, at least on the maternal side, and came to the Valley by the way of Pennsylvania. They were sons of John Lewis, whose ancestor fled from France during the religious persecutions of the Protestants which culminated in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, and, it is believed, some time before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and settled first in Wales, and then in Ireland where John was born, and grew to manhood, and was the head of an interesting and prosperous family, when the rapacity and violence of his landlord forced him in self-defence to do a deed which drove him from his home, first to Oporto, and thence to Pennsylvania, and thence in the summer of 1732 to Virginia, bringing with him his wife and children. Thomas, who was born in the country of Dublin on the 27th of April 1718, and was the oldest son, was then fourteen years old. Let me say that the whole country west of the Blue Ridge on the arrival of John Lewis was then called Orange, and that it was not till 1745 that Augusta was set apart as a county. When that event occurred, John Lewis was one of the magistrates that arranged the county, and John Madison, the father of Bishop Madison and the uncle of the president, was the first clerk, and Thomas Lewis, your trustee, who was then twenty-seven years old, was appointed to the office of the first surveyor, then and long subsequently the highroad to wealth and distinction. We have no means of knowing his early

opportunities of acquiring knowledge ; but it is probable that he received a good elementary education in Ireland, and that his father obtained in his forest home the services of some redemptioner who drilled his children in the languages and mathematics ; for it is an indubitable fact, that Thomas Lewis was not only well skilled in the sciences but was a good belles-lettres scholar. It so happens that I can take you into his library and read over the titles of some of his books to you. On one shelf was Clarendon, and Bishop Burnet's history of the Reformation of his own times, and Baker's Chronicle, and the volumes of Rushworth, which our revolutionary fathers were wont to search for precedents in their early warfare with the pen ; and on another were Tillotson and Barrow and South, and the Bayle Lecture ; and on yet another were Milton and Dryden and Shakspeare, and the early dramatists, and the novels of Fielding and Smollett, which Lewis read, as we read the novels of Scott and Cooper, as they appeared from time to time. And I will tell you further, if you will promise not to mention it, that after the death of Colonel Lewis, his excellent wife—who was a strict member of the Episcopal church to her dying day, and who survived her husband thirty years—having the good of her grandchildren in view, quietly took down from the shelf Tom Jones and Roderic Random and put them into the fire. This was the best collection of the English classics which had then been made west of the Blue Ridge.

But it is as a public man that we must present Thomas Lewis before you. He early entered the House of Burgesses, and voted for Henry's resolutions against the Stamp Act, and for the separation of the office of Treasurer from that of Speaker, two of the test questions of that age ; and he was a member of the Convention of 1775, when Henry's resolutions for arming the militia were adopted, and of the Convention of 1776, in which he presented a petition from the people of Augusta "representing the necessity of making the Confederacy of the United Colonies the most perfect, independent and lasting ; and of framing an equal, free and liberal government, that may bear the test of all future ages"—the first petition for absolute independence and for a permanent confederation of the colonies as States, presented to the Convention or to any other public body of that era. I call your attention to

this remarkable paper, not only for its political significance, but because it was drawn and signed by the people of Rockbridge as well as of the present Augusta; for it was all Augusta then. In the Convention of 1776, Thomas Lewis was placed on the ever memorable committee which reported the declaration of independence of the 15th day of May, and on the committee which drew the Declaration of Rights and the first constitution of an independent state ever recorded in the annals of nations. Throughout the war of the Revolution he remained in the civil service, and conducted the affairs of the county with diligence and skill. In 1788 he was chosen a member of the Convention which ratified the present Federal Constitution, and voted in favor of the adoption of that instrument by the body for the reasons which I will detail in another place. This was the last public act which he performed; for in the space of eighteen months after the adjournment of the body, at the age of 72, on the 31st of October 1790, this good man passed away. He died at his home on the Shenandoah three miles from Port Republic, where his remains now repose.

He was a fine specimen of the physical man. I can almost imagine that I see him before me. His height was six feet, his frame large and sinewy, without a pound of useless flesh. His form was erect even in old age, and his walk was grave and stately. In early youth his hair was jet black; his eyes were also black, but throughout life he was so short-sighted as to require glasses, and he was thus prevented from taking that active part in the field which forms the principal characteristic of his gallant brothers. He was a model in all the domestic relations. The head of a family of thirteen children, whom he lived to see attain to maturity, he not only gave them the privileges of a liberal education but inculcated upon them by word and example the strictest principles of morality and religion. He was attached to the Episcopal Church, and in drawing his will, when he pointed out the place of his grave, he requested that the beautiful burial service of that church to be read over his coffin.

You are fortunate in having such a name on the roll of your trustees. If any one should inquire of a son of Washington College who Thomas Lewis was, let him answer that he was an

accomplished gentleman, an elegant scholar, a true patriot, and a liberal christian; that his single vote in the House of Burgesses carried triumphantly through the fiercest resolution of Henry against the Stamp Act; that he was a member of that illustrious committee which reported Virginia's Declaration of Independence of the 15th of May 1776; that he aided in drawing the Virginia Declaration of Rights; and that he was a member of the committee which reported the first plan of government of an independent state recorded in human history.

ANDREW LEWIS.

But Andrew Lewis, the next name on your roll of trustees, won in his own day a reputation that eclipsed, at least in the eye of the multitude, the quiet intellectual fame of his elder brother Thomas. As he was the third son of the patriarch John Lewis, he was probably born about 1722, in Ulster, Ireland, and was doubtless well grounded in the elements of knowledge before he left the old country, and completed his course in Augusta in association with Thomas. At all events he was well instructed, and such was his standing that in 1775, when with Col. John Bowyer, another of your trustees, he took his seat in the convention of that year as a member from Botetourt, he was placed on the most important committees of the body. His military talents soon became conspicuous. He volunteered in the expedition to take possession of the Ohio region in 1754; was with Washington at Fort Necessity; commanded a company at Braddock's defeat;¹ commanded the Sandy Creek expedition in 1756; was made prisoner in the unfortunate enterprise under the British Major Grant against Duquesne, but was released when the French abandoned that post,² and vindicated on the spot the good name of the Virginia soldiers from the expressions of the British major. In 1768 he was a commissioner on the part of Virginia to conclude a treaty with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, New York, and in

¹ The Dinwiddie papers show that General Lewis was not at Braddock's defeat, but was on other duty. Capt. Peter Hogg probably commanded the company from Augusta. See Waddell's *Annals of Augusta*, p. 64.—Eds.

² See American Cyclopaedia, article Lewis.

1774 he commanded the forces at Point Pleasant, and gained a victory which thenceforth freed our soil from the regular incursions of the savages. The effect of the battle of Point Pleasant has not been fully portrayed in our history, nor have I time to dwell upon it at present. The confluence of the Kanawha and the Ohio afforded the best point for the concentration of the Indians from the extreme South, and from the extreme North—from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It was computed by a British writer, the year of the battle, that the number of Indian warriors within that vast territory could not fall short of one hundred thousand, and it was believed by prudent statesmen that England and France and Spain had each distinctive reasons for uniting the savages against the Colonists during the war of the Revolution; and it is not improbable that, but for the decisive battle of Point Pleasant, innumerable hosts of Indians would have poured down from the Alleghany and the Blue Ridge, and that the battles of that era would have been fought in the shadow of the mountains. That battle, decided by the genius of Andrew Lewis, was conclusive; and it may be a subject of just pride to Washington College, that not only the commanding general on that occasion, but several of the principal officers also, were her early trustees—among them, the modest and able Fleming, who received a wound from which he never fully recovered, and Col. William McKee; and that another of the trustees, Col. Christian, who would have been commander-in-chief if he had arrived earlier, came to the field of battle at its close with reinforcements.¹

When the war of the Revolution began, Andrew Lewis was in the civil service of Virginia. As before observed, he was a member of the Convention in 1775, but when the military arrangements were made, he was called into the field. He received the appointment of brigadier-general from Congress, and commanded the forces that drove Lord Dunmore from Gwynn's Island, pointing with his own hand the piece that was first discharged against the British encampment. It was the eager wish of Washington that Lewis should have received the appointment of major-general instead of the officer who was appointed to that station, and he wrote most

¹ Capt. John Lewis was also there.—Eds.

earnestly to him to waive for the present the question of rank. But Lewis was of too lofty a spirit to overlook so manifest a slight, and in 1777 he resigned his appointment. He was then engaged in the civil service of the state, and in 1780, in returning from a visit to the seaboard, with a constitution impaired by exposure, he was taken ill and died before reaching his home, in his 58th year.

It was observed of the Virginians who composed the Congressional delegation of 1774, that they were fine specimens of the human form. Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, who looked like a representative of the old French noblesse; Harrison, whose grand figure seemed more fitted for the field than the council; Pendleton, whose tall and elegant person and graceful deportment, which were so conspicuous in the chair of a deliberative assembly,—were men of imposing stature; but it is doubtful whether any one of them approached the standard of Andrew Lewis. "He was," says Col. John Stuart, who married one of his sisters, and who knew him intimately, "upwards of six feet high, of uncommon strength and agility, and his form was of the most perfect symmetry. He had a stern and invincible countenance, and was of a reserved and distant deportment which rendered his presence more awful than engaging. It was observed by the Governor of New York, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, that the earth seemed to tremble under him, as he walked along. His independent spirit despised all sycophantic means of gaining popularity, which never rendered more than his merits exacted."

Should posterity, as they behold his stalwart statue on the Washington monument in Richmond, where he is to be seen in a hunting shirt and with a rifle in his hand, as a representative of Colonial Virginia—for this great man did not live to read the Treaty of Paris, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of his country—infer that he was the mere warrior, a Daniel Boone on a large scale, they will do great injustice to a character that only required a wider sphere to exhibit the heroism and the brilliant hardihood of antiquity. He held in the West the same elevated position as a soldier and a leader as Washington held in the East, and on him the eyes of the people were turned at every conjuncture. Before our recent troubles there was a scheme to rear a monument over his unmarked grave near Salem, in the

present county of Roanoke, then Botetourt, and I sincerely trust that it will be renewed and accomplished. And it should then happen that the history of Andrew Lewis, which is now only to be found in meagre and scattered details, be permanently recorded in a form acceptable to the people.

Such was Andrew Lewis—the companion of Washington in all his Indian campaigns, the hero of the most conspicuous Indian battle ever fought on our soil, and the man that Washington is reported to have said should have taken his place as the commander-in-chief of the armies of America.

SAMUEL LYLE.

Samuel Lyle was also a trustee of 1776, and a trustee of the incorporated institution. His immediate ancestor came from the North of Ireland and settled in Augusta between 1730 and 1740, and was a member of the Presbyterian church. Like the Lewises, the Lyles came from France to England prior to the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The name is wholly French, and was originally written with an apostrophe between the article and the noun that compose the word. It is not unworthy of note, as an element in the formation of national character, that the Lewises, so conspicuous for valor and statesmanship, and that the Lyles and the Lacys, so eminent in the pulpit and in the school—the last of whom are inserted on the roll of Battle Abbey, and all of them the early and steady trustees and friends of your institution—should inherit the blood of the Latin race, and be able to trace their ancestral abodes to the land of the fig and the vine. On the list of names appended to the call of the Rev. Dr. Brown in 1753, your second rector, which is the Battle Abbey roll of Rockbridge, there are four Lyles, and among them is Samuel your trustee. He showed an intelligent zeal in promoting the welfare of the Academy in its earliest stages; for he was not only a trustee but its treasurer; and even in his old age he might have been seen driving up this hill swathed in flannel and in large warm overshoes, being quite infirm and crippled with rheumatism, and bearing the purse of your institution in his hand. He married Miss McClung, and a daughter of his married the Rev. Matthew Lyle. He was noted for his piety, and was for many years an elder in the church.

WILLIAM IRWIN.

He was a member of the Scotch-Irish family. His ancestors were from Pennsylvania, and settled in Rockbridge as Rockbridge now is. He was called to the congregations of Rockfish and Mountain Plains in 1772, and in that position he spent his entire ministerial life. He withdrew from the active labors of the pulpit in his latter years. It was in a case before Hanover Presbytery in which Mr. Irwin was concerned, that Dr. Waddell delivered in his defence a speech which is referred to in our own times as an extraordinary effort of parliamentary eloquence.

CHARLES CAMPBELL.

Among the Presbyterial trustees of 1776, and also the chartered trustees, was the venerable Charles Campbell. He was the son of Charles Campbell whose remote progenitor was Duncan Campbell. This Duncan, who never left Scotland, had three sons, Dougald, Robert and John, who removed to Ireland in 1700, and settled in Coleraine in the county Derry. Most of the descendants of these three brothers, between 1730 and '40, emigrated to Pennsylvania, and thence came to Augusta as Augusta then was. The descendants of Dougald are said to have settled in what is now Rockbridge; and three brothers, sons of Robert, namely, Hugh, John and Charles, settled in Augusta proper. Charles Campbell, your trustee, the son of Charles, was born in Rockbridge in 1741, married Mary Ann Downey, and both husband and wife lived to an advanced age, she dying in 1824, aged 82, and he in 1826, aged 85. Charles Campbell did not actively embark in political affairs, but commanded a company at the siege of York; and he delighted in old age to recount the details of the siege. He was noted for his piety, was fond of books, encouraged literary institutions, and trained his numerous sons and daughters in sound learning. One of his sons, Dr. Samuel L. Campbell, who was a pupil of the Academy, a trustee, and for a short period its rector, was a good scholar, and a correct and graceful writer; and we owe to his pen not only a graphic account of the infant academy and of its early pupils, but a valuable historical memoir of the battle of

Point Pleasant. Charles Campbell, your trustee, who lived as late as 1826, is well remembered by many now living. He was about the middle size; and in his old age, as he sat as an elder in the New Providence church on the left of the pulpit, with his white hair flowing, decrepit with years, but firm in faith and zealous for the glory of God, he was a striking figure. He was long a magistrate, and did not hesitate to use the whole rigor of the law in repressing violations of the Sabbath. At your annual celebrations the good old man drove from his residence twelve miles distant to this hill in his carriage drawn by two rather old white horses, who rejoiced in the names of Grey and Goody, and listened with rapt attention to all the exercises of the day. He left numerous descendants, among whom is my valued friend Charles Campbell, who truly represents the literary zeal and the sterling integrity of his ancestor.¹

JOHN AND SAMUEL HOUSTON.

The name of Houston has been intimately connected with the Academy and the College from the beginning to the present day. It was Samuel Houston and Alexander Stuart that bestowed upon it forty acres of land each, for its site at Timber Ridge. John Houston, a trustee of 1776 and also of the incorporated body from 1784 to 1791, was of Scotch-Irish origin, and was one of the early settlers of Augusta. He cultivated his plantation on Hays's Creek, and lived a life of industry and piety.² It has been said that the true life of an ancestor is seen in his descendants; and if this be true, John Houston was fortunate. His attachment to the seminary was shared by his son Samuel, who was one of its pupils and for more than a third of a century one of the most influential trustees of the Academy and the College. Few men have left upon society a more pleasing impression than Samuel Houston. Soon after reaching manhood, he shouldered his musket and marched on foot from this town to Guilford Court House, and in the battle in that vicinity fired his rifle fourteen times. At the close of the

¹ Charles Campbell was High Sheriff of Rockbridge 1808-10, and a member of the Virginia House of Delegates 1788-9.—Eds.

² He was High Sheriff of Rockbridge 1786-'88.—Eds.

war, he entered the ministry of the Presbyterian church, and was settled in the High Bridge and Falling Spring congregations, in one or other of which he remained as long as strength allowed him to perform the duties of a pastor. In later life he was in appearance the model of a christian teacher and gentleman. He died in 1839, at the age of 81.

SAMPSON MATHEWS.

Among the trustees of 1776 is the name of Sampson Mathews. It is remarkable that for more than two hundred years the name of Mathews has held a prominent position in every great crisis of our history. During the protectorate of Cromwell one of our best colonial governors, and one of our thriftiest tobacco planters, was Capt. Samuel Mathews, who was said to have "kept a good house, lived bravely, and to be a true lover of Virginia." And during the Revolution of 1776, Col. Thomas Mathews not only held a respectable military command in the field, and was a major in the artillery regiment of practice commanded by Col. Thomas Marshall under the training of M. Loyauté, but was the speaker of the House of Delegates for many years; and so acceptable were his services in war and peace, that the General Assembly named a beautiful country overlooking the blue waters of the Chesapeake in his honor. But those of the name most conspicuous in the Valley at the birth of your institution were George and Sampson Mathews. Their ancestors were among the early settlers of Augusta, and were of the Presbyterian family. As they were not connected with the blood of the good old governor, or with that of Col. Thomas Mathews who had come over from St. Kitt's not many years before the Revolution, they probably came from Ireland and were of the Scotch-Irish race, but I cannot speak positively on the subject, as nothing exists in print bearing upon it, and I failed to obtain any family traditions. Of Gen. George Mathews I will only say in passing, that he was probably a pupil of the Academy under Alexander or Brown, that he fought bravely at Point Pleasant, at Brandywine, Germantown, and Guilford Court House; that he removed from Augusta to Georgia, where he was elected governor of that state and a senator of the United States, and through-

out whose whole course the moral and religious training of the Valley was ever to be seen.¹ But the sphere of Sampson Mathews, your trustee, was confined to Virginia. He too was born in Augusta, was a pupil of the infant academy, and mingled freely in politics. His name has become honorably connected with the Revolutionary era, not only from his active military and civic labors, but from the fact that he was one of the committee which reported to the freeholders of Augusta the patriotic resolutions of February 1775, of which I have spoken more than once. In 1778 he was elected to the Senate of Virginia by the Augusta district, and devoted his abilities to the performance of those difficult and delicate and most painful duties which devolved upon the Assembly before the victory of Yorktown had cheered the hearts and brightened the hopes of our people. As he was a pupil of the Academy in its leading stage, so he was an active friend of the institution in its more expanded state, and was chosen by the Presbytery one of its trustees. On withdrawing from the public councils he spent a quiet life on his estate, though of his latter days I have no specific information.² And I may mention by the way, that a descendant of his³ was a member of the House of Delegates in 1798-99, and 1799-1800, and that he voted, in company with George Keith Taylor, Gen. Blackburn, and Miller and Breckenridge and others whose names we cherish with a grateful pride untainted by political difference, against the resolutions of Col. John Taylor and the report of Mr. Madison.

COL. WILLIAM MCKEE.

Col. William McKee was another of the trustees of 1776 and of the incorporated institution. He was of Scotch-Irish descent, was born in Augusta, was a pupil of the Academy under Brown, and became Sheriff of Rockbridge when a sheriffalty was the turn-

¹ Governor Mathews was never a senator. He was a member of the House in the first Congress.—Eds.

² He was the first Sheriff of Bath county.—Eds.

³ Sampson Mathews, Jr., an alumnus of Liberty Hall, who with Gen. Blackburn represented Bath in the House of Delegates. Sampson Mathews, Sr., was the ancestor of Prof. A. L. Nelson of Washington and Lee University.—Eds.

pike that led to fortune. But though he accumulated a handsome property he never for a moment forgot the claims of his country. He marched with Col. Andrew Lewis, who engaged the services of Capt. Arbuckle, whom I well remember in his venerable old age, as a guide through the unbroken forests and dreary mountains, to Point Pleasant, and shared in the laurels of that glorious fight.¹ He entered the House of Delegates from Rockbridge, and was the colleague of Gen. Andrew Moore in the Virginia Convention of 1788, when he united with that gentleman in voting for the ratification of the Federal Constitution in opposition to the positive instructions of his constituents, who subsequently approved the act. I think I have said before that the votes of Thomas Lewis, William Fleming, Archibald Stuart, Zachariah Johnston, Andrew Moore, and William McKee, all of whom were your trustees and four of them pupils of the Academy, secured the ratification of the Federal Constitution by Virginia. Without their votes that instrument would have been rejected by the state. When, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the great hegira to Kentucky, which had begun some years before, was quickened and stimulated, and thousands bent their way to "the bloody ground," Col. McKee united with many of his neighbors and removed to the promised land. And there he spent his latter days. I have been told by one who saw him that he was a man of middle size, that he lived on Kerr's Creek,² and that he had a very long nose and a sharp chin, which might well become a keen Indian fighter who, having flogged the Indians in his youth, was ready to encounter the risks of Kentucky savages in his old age. He was a successful financier, and an able friend of the Federal Constitution.³

¹ Although a mere youth, he was in Washington's battalion at Braddock's defeat.—Eds.

² He lived three miles west of Lexington, on the farm afterwards owned by Dr. Baxter, President of Washington College.—Eds.

³ Colonel McKee died in Garrard county, Kentucky, in 1816, in the 84th year of his age. His son Col. Samuel McKee, an alumnus of Liberty Hall, represented Kentucky in the United States Congress 1809-17, and was also United States District Judge. His son Col. William R. McKee fell at the head of his regiment at Buena Vista; and his son Lieutenant Hugh W. McKee of the United States Navy was killed in a fight with the Coreans in 1871.—Eds.

COL. GEORGE MOFFETT.

Col. George Moffett was also one of the trustees of 1776 and of the incorporated institution, and well may his descendants cherish the merits of such an ancestor. He was the son of John Moffett, who came over from Ireland in 1730 and settled in Augusta near the Stone Church, and Mary Christian. He left four sons, Robert, John, George, and William, and one daughter, Mrs. Estill. He died while on a short visit to North Carolina, and was there buried. Our present office is confined to the third son George, who was born on his father's farm in Augusta in 1735, was probably taught by Mr. Alexander, the first rector of the Academy, and having laid the foundations of a good education, early embarked in active life. His first employment was that of Deputy Sheriff of Augusta. After his marriage with a sister of Col. Samuel McDowell, he engaged in agriculture, and being pious from his youth became a member of the Presbyterian church, and was actively engaged in missions of benevolence and piety. He is said to have been a man of fine personal presence. He took up his residence on Middle River, where he resided until his death in 1811. In 1760 he received an appointment which enabled him to render valuable service to his county. He was chosen captain of a military company, whose duty it was to protect the settlement against the Indians and recover from them their prisoners and stolen effects. In the discharge of these duties, which extended through a number of years, he had some severe fights, the bloodiest of which took place on the Falling Spring farm in Alleghany county. In 1774 he was at the battle of Point Pleasant. He was a true patriot, and engaged actively in the war of the Revolution. He accompanied his brother-in-law Col. McDowell, when that officer led the Augusta troops to the South, and fought gallantly at the battle of Guilford. But it was in his character as the chief of a band of active young men defending the county from the frequent incursions of the Indians that he gained his great distinction as a soldier. Forty years ago, as the traveller wandered through the county of Augusta, he soon found that one of the most popular themes of the aged people was the exploits of Col. Moffett, and especially his rescue from the possession of the Indians of his own

sister, Mrs. Estill, the mother of the late Judge Estill, and of others who had been captured at the same time. He overtook the Indians in a dense forest near the present Beverly, W. Va. There was another trait in the character of this good man worthy of notice. He was truly conscientious, and having some doubts on the subject of holding slaves as property, he emancipated his own. It is said that the experiment was not favorable to the blacks, and that he was afterwards inclined to approve the views held by his kinsman, Gen. Moore, who in the Assembly opposed the policy of emancipation as injurious to the liberated slaves themselves, so long as a general status of slavery existed in the commonwealth. He was always a pious man. In the incipient stages of the Academy he was appointed by the Presbytery to various offices which he fulfilled most scrupulously; and he was a member of that religious community; but, entertaining some scruples on certain points of doctrine, he withdrew from it; but at a later period, on mature reflection, he returned to the fold of his ancestors. He is described as being of commanding presence, of bland and genial manners, of pleasing address, and of great personal popularity.

He died in 1811, in his 76th year, universally esteemed, and left four sons, John, James, Samuel, and William, and four daughters, Mrs. Gen. McDowell who died in Kentucky, Mrs. Dr. James McDowell of North Carolina, Mrs. Kirk of Kentucky, and Mrs. Jas. Cochran of Augusta county. He was buried at Mount Pleasant, his residence.

MAJOR JOHN HAYS.

John Hays, one of your incorporated trustees of 1782, was a descendant of one of the men whose name is written on the Brown roll of 1753, and in early manhood was actively employed in defending the frontiers of Augusta. On the first outbreak of hostilities in 1776, he was appointed a captain, and, at the head of a company of young men recruited within the present limits of Rockbridge, with young Andrew Moore as his lieutenant, he marched to the North, and fought in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. Nor did he return home empty-handed. He married a beautiful wife in Maryland, and pitching his tent on Hays's Creek in this county, turned his attention to the peaceful

pursuits of private life. Before the close of the war he rose to the rank of Major. I can not fix the date of his death, which was on his farm in Virginia, according to one authority, while another affirms that he removed to Tennessee, where his descendants now live.¹ But we know enough to honor his memory when we can say in a single sentence that he was a son of an early settler of Augusta, that he was a pupil of your infant institution, that he led his band of Valley boys gallantly in the contested fields of Pennsylvania and New Jersey under Washington, that under Gates he helped to achieve the victory of Saratoga, and that he was a trustee of Washington Academy.

WILLIAM WILSON.

William Wilson was a clergyman. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1751, and soon after was brought to Virginia by his father, who was of the Scotch-Irish race, and who settled about twelve miles east of this town. Young Wilson soon entered the Academy, then at Mount Pleasant, and was a most promising pupil. He was equally well versed in the languages and in mathematics, and at a later day students of theology applying for admission to the ministry dreaded his critical inquisitions. In 1780 he was ordained as the pastor of the Stone Church in Augusta, and there he spent his life in the zealous and able discharge of his ministerial duties. There was connected with him a singular mental phenomenon. He fell ill of an epileptic attack, and on his recovery he had for a season almost wholly forgot his mother tongue. As he had been a good Latin and Greek scholar before his illness, so the knowledge of these languages remained, and he was compelled to use them in seeking his daily wants, until he gradually recovered his English. He was skilled in mathematics, and solved problems for intellectual recreation in his old age. He belonged to that class of our early Presbyterian preachers who made their preparations carefully in the study, but took with them into the pulpit the heads only of their discourse, relying wholly on

¹ Maj. Hays died in 1808, on his farm on Hays's Creek, where A. A. McCormick now lives.—Eds.

the inspiration of the moment for their words and illustrations—a mode of speech which may serve to explain the effect and animation of the eloquence of our early preachers. He preached at intervals to a short time before his death. One of his last sermons was listened to by Dr. Speece, who succeeded him in the Stone Church, and that critical judge pronounced it “not inferior in vigor of thought, methodical arrangement, or animation of manner, to any that he had ever heard from him.”

JOHN WILSON.

There are two gentlemen named Wilson who were appointed trustees by the Presbytery and by the Assembly, that deserve a more respectful mention. It must have already appeared to you that to give a full description of your trustees, is to put forth some of the most interesting portions of the history of the colony and the commonwealth for more than the whole of one century and the third of another. The Wilsons were of the Scotch-Irish race, and were among the early settlers of Augusta. A representative of the race soon rose to prominence and distinction in the public councils. Our grandfathers had their local as well as general topics of contention as well as ourselves. In 1748 there was a serious project of removing the capital from Williamsburg. The country had enjoyed an unusually long interval of peace under the administration of Sir William Gooch, and the pugnacious propensities of the people impelled them to seek a vent in some quarter or other. Candidates were chosen with an especial view to remove the seat of government, and as Augusta seventy years later than 1748 sent the late Briscoe G. Baldwin to remove the capital to Staunton, so their ancestors in 1748 chose John Wilson to perform the same office, that is, to remove the seat of government, though I hardly think, to Augusta, where the Governor would be liable to be roasted whole, the Speaker of the House of Burgesses to be tomahawked, and the members to run the gauntlet through the Indian villages. The Augusta delegates did not succeed in their plans: the scheme was defeated; but John Wilson and John Madison had the opportunity of expressing their parting salutations on Sir William Gooch, who was then about to depart for Europe after a most popular

administration of twenty-two years. Ten years rolled on, and there came the most violent tornado of death and destruction that ever swept the Valley. In 1755 Braddock had been defeated, and then Grant was equally unfortunate, and consternation and slaughter universally prevailed. The Indians, stimulated by the French, had become most daring, passing by our forts, and carrying off women and children into a captivity little less formidable than death itself. The letters of Washington written at this period melt our hearts and draw our tears after the lapse of one hundred and twelve years, and are the most touching ever traced by his pen. He declared that he would most willingly yield up his own life as a sacrifice for a cessation of bloodshed and for peace. At this emergency, when the settlers were rushing from their Valley homes—for France as well as the Indians were fighting us—the people were determined to choose an Assembly of the ablest men whom the Colony contained. Then for the first time George Mason appeared in the public councils, and Pendleton and Washington himself, then at the age of twenty-six, were also chosen. It is recorded by Burke that it was the ablest body of men that had ever met in council in America, and he has put down the name of every member on his pages. To this body Augusta looked with an anxious eye, for she composed with Frederick the only two counties in the Valley, and she chose John Wilson and Israel Christian as her delegates. It is enough to say that her representatives performed their duty, and aided in taking those measures which ultimately led to the expulsion of the French from Canada, and the annexation of that province to the British dominions.

Sprung from such a stock, John Wilson, your trustee, evinced the deepest interest in your Academy as long as he lived. In 1770, being engaged in mercantile affairs, he was a member of the Merchants' Association, which was assembled in Williamsburg to take measures in defence of the rights and interests of the Colony, and carried into effect the resolutions of the body in Augusta. At his death he left a son, the late Captain William Wilson, who was the Treasurer of the Academy and the College for forty years.¹

¹ John Wilson was a bachelor and the uncle and guardian, not the father, of Capt. William Wilson.—Eds.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

The name that stands fourth on the list of the incorporated trustees would, if treated in the length and breadth of its antecedents and consequents, alone consume the time allotted to me at present. What a host of associations are conjured up by the name of Alexander! But I can dwell but a few moments on its history. William Alexander, your trustee, was the eldest son of Archibald Alexander, who came over from Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1737, and removed to Augusta in 1747. William was born near Nottingham, Pennsylvania, in 1738, and was nine years old when he came to Virginia. He grew to manhood amid the hardships of a frontier life. He embarked in mercantile pursuits, and kept a store at the Point; but as all business was broken up by the Revolution, he acted as deputy to his father, who was sheriff of the county. He never engaged in public affairs. He is reported to have been in the Sandy Creek Voyage under Maj. Andrew Lewis; but it was his father and not himself who encountered the fearful exposure of that disastrous expedition. He was ever a warm friend of the Academy, which, on its removal to Lexington, was built on his grounds, and he was its treasurer as well as trustee for a number of years. He married Agnes Ann, a daughter of Andrew Reid, and left a family of three sons and five daughters, the last of whom has but recently deceased. He was a man of small stature, with black hair and black eyes, and on special occasions he was attentive to his dress. He was quick in his movements and talked very rapidly. While he lived in Lexington, his residence was not far from the site of the present Presbyterian church, if not directly upon it. In his old age, as he was walking in the street, he was struck by a stone thrown by an idle boy on one of his eyes, and he lost the use of it forever. We like to know how looked and walked and dressed and talked a man who was the father of the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander of Princeton, and the grandfather of two such men as James Waddell and Joseph Addison Alexander.

CALEB WALLACE.

Caleb Wallace was a remarkable man among his contemporaries, and well deserved a position in the incorporated board, which he had already held by the appointment of Presbytery. The tide of Scotch-Irish emigration from Pennsylvania coursed mainly along the Valley, but there was a lesser stream that ran along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge to the county of Charlotte, and thence farther south, which bore on its way a number of worthy families, which were to send forth their representatives to succeeding times. On this eastern tide came the ancestors of the late Mr. Calhoun and of Caleb Wallace. Caleb was born in the county of Charlotte about the year 1750, on a creek which still bears his name, was graduated at Princeton in 1770, where he had the late ex-president James Madison as a college mate. Both were pious young men during their college course, were among the best scholars of their class, and enjoyed the confidence of Witherspoon. Both excelled in that cool and clear argumentation which was an invaluable weapon in the early stages of our Revolutionary contest and both brought their utmost powers to bear upon the question of a church establishment and religious freedom. When Wallace finished his course at college, he studied Theology and became a licentiate of the Presbytery of New Castle. In October 1774, he was ordained as the pastor of Cub Creek and Little Falling Run congregations. At the meeting in October, 1776, of the first general assembly under the constitution, he repaired to Williamsburg, and bore with him the memorial of the Hanover Presbytery, which professed the warmest zeal in the support of independence, but protested with equal earnestness against the continuation of the Episcopal church as an establishment. And here it should be said that the objections of the Presbytery lay not against the Episcopal church as a true church of our common Lord and Master, but against that or any other church whatsoever, even their own, as an establishment. Indeed Davies and Waddell and Graham have more than once expressed publicly their approval of the doctrinal articles of the church of England. It should seem at this day that the fourteenth article of the Declaration of Rights had settled the

question of church and state conclusively; but it was soon seen that a bill to continue the establishment was introduced in the House of Delegates. Mr. Wallace exerted all his industry to prevent its passage, and, it is believed, appeared before the Committee on Religion and argued the question at length. In the prosecution of his purpose he remained eight weeks in Williamsburg. In 1779, having lost his wife, who was Miss Sally McDowell of Rockbridge, he removed from Cub Creek to Botetourt, where he remained until the close of the war. During the Revolution he upheld the cause of his country by his tongue and his pen. Several of his letters still extant attest his patriotic fervor. Writing in 1777 to the Rev. Mr. Caldwell of New Jersey, a noble Virginian, who fell untimely near the end of the war, and who, by the way, used to preach with pistols in his belt, as a price had been set on his head by the British,—Wallace says: "An American ought to seek an emancipation from the British king, ministry, and parliament, at the risk of all his earthly possessions of whatever name; nor is it the fear of danger that has prevented my preaching this doctrine in the army at headquarters." He adds: "I meddle very little with matters of civil concern, only to countenance the recruiting business, as far as I have it in my power; and sometimes I have a fight with the prejudices—I would rather say the perverseness—of such as are inclining to toryism among us; but we have reason to rejoice that we have few such cattle with us."

In 1782 he removed to Woodford county, Kentucky; and withdrawing from the ministry, he studied law, rose to distinction at the bar, and was chosen a judge of the Supreme Court of that State. He was appointed by the Assembly one of the Commissioners to settle the numerous claims in Kentucky against Virginia—a very delicate office, which he and his colleagues Fleming and McDowell executed promptly and satisfactorily. He married for his second wife a daughter of Israel Christian, and his descendants still reside in Kentucky. He possessed fine powers of disquisition, was a ready speaker, and maintained intimate relations with the first statesmen of the Revolution. He attained to a good old age.

JOHN TRIMBLE.

The eighth of the incorporated trustees was John Trimble. He was the son of James Trimble, who with his two brothers Alexander and John emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania. Alexander remained in Pennsylvania, and John settled in Kentucky, where his descendants still flourish. James, who was the eldest brother, came to Virginia not later than 1750, and settled on the farm and built a house not one hundred yards distant from the residence of Joseph Steele, Esq., one of your trustees for thirty years past. James died early and left a son John who was your trustee. John did not survive his father more than ten years, and died not very long after the date of the charter, leaving a widow who has recently departed from us in her 97th year.¹ He is still remembered as a man of the kindest feelings, of warm attachments to his relations and friends, and pure in all his transactions with the world. Some striking acts of his generosity are fondly remembered by his collateral relations. He was of the Scotch-Irish race, and was an advocate of churches, schools and academies. The fact that his name was enrolled in the charter is sufficient proof of his standing and moral and intellectual worth.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

Of Alexander Campbell, the sixth on the roll of incorporated trustees, I learn that he came from Pennsylvania, that he lived on Timber Ridge, that he always came on sacramental and academical occasions to Lexington, where he was the guest of Col. Andrew Reid, that he was a pious man and much interested in

¹ Mr. Grigsby has confounded John Trimble with Alexander Trimble, the husband of the lady to whom he refers, and who was his (Mr. Grigsby's) aunt. John Trimble married Mary Ann Alexander, the half-sister of William Alexander. She removed to Tennessee soon after the death of her husband. Her grandson John Trimble was Judge of the Nashville district, and represented the Nashville district in the United States Congress for several sessions. He died a few years ago at Republican Hill, near Nashville, at an advanced age.—EDS.

the cause of education, and that he lived until near the beginning of the present century.¹

ZACHARIAH JOHNSTON.

Among the trustees who, though not mentioned in the charter, were elected under its provisions a short time after its date, stands a name that was so long connected with the political and religious questions of that era, that I may be excused for dwelling a moment on it. I allude to Zachariah Johnston. He was born in Augusta between 1750 and '60, of parents who emigrated from Ireland and chose their homes in Augusta, was a pupil of the Academy as well as a trustee, and gave indications of a strong and discriminating mind. He entered the House of Delegates during the Revolution, and gave up all his faculties to the purpose of shaping the new measures to a republican model. He accordingly supported with great earnestness the revised bills reported by Mr. Jefferson, which it was the policy of their opponents to keep on the table, or if called up, to emasculate them of their wisest provisions. It is well known that Mr. Jefferson, when he withdrew from the House to embark for France, left the care of the revised bills to Mr. Madison, who fully redeemed the confidence of his friend by the tact and patience and ability which he displayed in effecting their passage. He had indeed most strenuous coadjutors, and among those was Zachariah Johnston. His simple and unadorned but caustic and fearless logic, which was in strong contrast with the deep and elaborate speculations of Mr. Madison, was ever ready and was always effective. It was in 1785, when the act for establishing Religious Freedom was on its passage, that he made a capital speech, in which he took the ground which I have mentioned already more than once, and which was that the hostility of the Presbyterian population of the Valley to an establishment had no bearing upon the Episcopal church as a church of Christ, but that it was directed against an establishment of any church, even their

¹ Mr. Campbell died in 1805. He was for many years Surveyor of Rockbridge county, then an office of great importance. The late John L. Campbell, LL. D., Professor of Chemistry and Geology in Washington and Lee University, was his grandson.—Eps.

own, in connection with the state. A single passage only of Johnston's speech in the debate has been preserved, and I quote it to show not only his line of argument but his style of thought. "Mr. Chairman, I am a Presbyterian, a rigid Presbyterian as we are called; my parents before me were of the same profession; I was educated in that line. Since I became a man, I have examined for myself, and I have seen no cause to dissent. But, sir, the very day that the Presbyterians shall be established by law, and become a body politic, the same day Zachariah Johnston will be a dissenter. Dissent from that *religion* I cannot in honesty, but from that establishment I will." And his name goes down to posterity in favor of the passage of the act for establishing Religious Freedom. He was the colleague of Judge Stuart in the Federal Convention of 1788, which ratified on the part of Virginia the present federal constitution, and made an animated speech in its favor, which has been preserved entire, and which will speak for itself. Mr. Johnston was a man of religious temperament, of great simplicity of manners, and utterly void of hypocrisy and deceit. I wish I were able to present a domestic portrait of this good man; but my knowledge in that respect is very limited.¹

GEN. WILLIAM CAMPBELL.

As the student wanders through the gallery of the portraits of the early friends of Washington College, and gazes with fond delight on the faces of Graham, of Thomas Lewis, of Andrew Lewis the hero of Point Pleasant, of William Christian, of William Preston, of William Fleming, of Arthur Campbell, of Andrew Moore, of the Stuarts, father, brother and son, and of their well-known associates,—he seeks with eager interest another face, the face of a noble patriot who was connected with them all, not only in the political and military events of their age, but in their affection for your institution; and inquires, with a faltering voice: Where is Gen. William Campbell, and why is it that the

¹ Mr. Johnston removed from Augusta to Stone Castle, two miles south of Lexington, in 1793, and represented Rockbridge in the House of Delegates in 1797-8, and was chiefly instrumental in securing the repeal of the obnoxious act of 1796 before referred to. He died at Stone Castle, January 7, 1800.—Eds.

Hero of King's Mountain is not found among his compeers? Sad as the answer is and ever will be to the patriot heart of our country, it must be told. He was a pupil of the Academy, and displayed the deepest interest in its welfare and a magnanimous pride in his *alma mater*, but when, in 1782, the friends of the institution were seeking among our chief citizens for the names to be recorded in the charter, they thought of the name of Campbell, and then it came over them with all the intensity of a recent affliction, that the Hero of King's Mountain had gone down to his grave a few months before. While in command of his regiment at the siege of York, he was taken ill of a fever, and even before the flag of Britain was lowered on the ramparts, he fell, after a short and severe struggle with the most insatiable and remorseless of all conquerors. But though he died before the trustees were enrolled in your charter, where our fathers would have delighted to place him, let us perform that office in their behalf.

Gen. William Campbell was the son of Charles, who was of the race of the Campbells of whom I have spoken elsewhere. Charles Campbell married Margaret Buchanan, and died young, leaving one son, the hero of King's Mountain; and four daughters, one of whom married Col. Arthur Campbell who is the first named of the charter of 1782; a second married Capt. Taylor, the father of the late Judge Allen Taylor, another trustee of the College; a third married Mr. Richard Poston, and a fourth married Mr. Thomas Tate.

Gen. Campbell was born in the county of Augusta as it then was, in 1745, and was one of the early pupils of the Academy. On reaching manhood he was prompt to join in the measures of defence and attack against the Indians who infested the new settlements on the Holston, whither, on the death of his father, he had removed his mother and sister; and we trace him in the bloody fight at Point Pleasant, as marching in the respective campaigns of Col. Christian and Col. Arthur Campbell against the Cherokees, and in other actions on the frontier, which called forth a vote of thanks from North Carolina. But it was on the seventh day of October 1780, that Col. Campbell and his gallant colleagues from North and South Carolina achieved that distinction which has connected his name inseparably with the war of the Revolution. I

cannot here say one word of the battle of King's Mountain, more especially as the affair has been so eloquently detailed by his distinguished grandson now living,¹ and have time to speak of its ever memorable effect on the spirits of the people. When Campbell and his colleagues led their forces against Ferguson, the South was almost conquered by the British. Despair darkened every bosom, and hope seemed to have gone out. Charleston had been taken in the preceding May, and on the 29th of the same month Col. Buford was defeated at Waxhaw, on the 16th of the following August Gen. Gates lost the battle of Camden, and on the 18th of the same month Sumter was surprised, and South Carolina was under the heel of Cornwallis. Amid such a scene of gloom and disaster the victory of King's Mountain shone forth like a rainbow in a tempestuous sky. Let dates, which are stronger than words, tell the wondrous tale. It was on the 7th of October, 1780, that Col. Campbell received from the hands of Capt. Dupeister, the senior officer on the death of Ferguson, the standard of England, which Ferguson fondly hoped to wave over the Valley of Virginia; on the 17th of the following January, Morgan fought the battle of the Cowpens; on the 15th of March occurred the battle of Guilford, which resulted in the retreat of Cornwallis to Wilmington; on the 8th of the following September, the immortal field of Eutaw was fought and won; and on the 19th of October, Cornwallis surrendered at York.

But the services of Col. Campbell did not close with the battle of King's Mountain. He marched with his regiment to Guilford, and aided materially in that engagement. And in 1781 he joined Lafayette at Albemarle Old Court House and marched to the siege of York, but he died suddenly before the surrender. This last triumph was not reserved to the patriot, and at the age of thirty-six he was laid in his grave. That funeral was a solemn scene. The young and heroic Lafayette was seen bending in grief and tears over the coffin of his friend. That scene he never forgot. Forty-three years later he described to one of the descendants of Campbell that touching spectacle. Col. Campbell was buried at Rocky Mills, in Hanover, and when after many years his remains

¹ General John S. Preston.

were removed to his home in Washington, it was found that time had dealt gently with them.

In stature he had the proportions of a hero. He was over six feet in height; his frame was large and compact and muscular; his hair was inclined to red; his eyes were gray or a deep blue; his features were prominent, and his profile was said to be symmetrical. Indeed we are told by elderly men who knew him, that his grandson the late Col. William Campbell Preston of South Carolina was in his figure and movements a fair image of his illustrious ancestor. Col. Campbell was an affectionate son. Letters still extant show his tenderness to his mother and his generous conduct to his sisters. He married in 1775 a sister of Patrick Henry and left at his death a son, who died young, and one daughter, who married Gen. Francis Preston, second son of Col. William Preston. Of the children of this marriage, of whom the late Col. William C. Preston of South Carolina was one, there survive Col. John S. Preston of the same State, Col. Thomas L. Preston, and Mrs. Gen. Carrington of Albemarle county. I have said that he married the sister of Patrick Henry, who is said to have possessed the genius of her illustrious brother. Gen. Campbell is said to have been a man of quick and stern temper and was the terror of Tories, with whom, if caught in the act of treason, as at the battle of King's Mountain, he dealt peremptorily and condignly; but he never allowed himself to show any excitement in the presence of his wife.

WILLIAM MCPHEETERS.

William McPheeters, a trustee of 1776, was born in Pennsylvania in 1729, and was a son of a gentleman of the same name, who came from Ireland to Pennsylvania, and emigrated to Augusta about the year 1740. He settled at Bethel on the waters of the Middle River, near the North Mountain. He was a truly pious man, was an elder in the church of which the Rev. Archibald Scott, one of your trustees, was the pastor, and was a magistrate of Augusta and High Sheriff of that county 1788-90. His life was spent upon his farm in the employments of agriculture and in the interchange of good feelings with his neighbors. Like his Scotch-Irish brethren, he was impressed with the importance of education,

and especially of an educated ministry, and took a peculiar pride in fostering the Academy, of which his son, so long and so favorably known in Virginia and North Carolina, was a pupil.¹ He has left numerous descendants, the death of one of whom, who was remarkable for his genius and eloquence, has been lately lamented by the lovers of eloquence and piety in Missouri, and Kentucky, and Virginia.²

CONCLUSION.

And I come to a close. And when I had finished my specific task of recording the services of your early trustees and professors, I could not withhold a glance at their immediate successors Samuel L. Campbell, and Baxter, and Marshall, and Vethake, and Ruffner, and Junkin,—all of whom but one I knew, and all of whom are gone. And as I called up their images before me, it seemed as if I felt their living presence, and could behold the genial smile as they looked down on their beloved institution in its present palmy state—a state those good men longed to see but died without the sight—and could gather from them words of gratulation and cheer for every student within your walls and for every officer within your courts; and while they uttered words of encouragement and praise to all, I could catch from those lips, now touched with earthly guile no more, one glorious accord concerning him who led our armies through the late perilous war, and—the grandest of all his victories—made a lodgment in the inner hearts of a whole people; that in training the youth of his beloved country in the ways of wisdom and knowledge and peace, and in the “love of God that passeth all understanding,” he is winning a wreath as worthy as ever rested on his brow—a wreath whose beauty will not only shine in the eyes of living men, but will endure forever.

¹ The Rev. William McPheeters, D. D., a distinguished Presbyterian minister, and a trustee of Washington College 1807-12.—Eds.

² The Rev. Samuel Brown McPheeters, his grandson, the distinguished Presbyterian minister of St. Louis, Mo.—Eds.

APPENDIX.

This valuable address was retained by Mr. Grigsby for several years after its delivery in 1870, to enable him to complete it by giving sketches of all the early trustees. He died, however, without doing so. We now add brief sketches of those omitted by him.—W. McL.

JOHN GRATTAN.

Among the trustees appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1776 to manage the Academy was John Grattan. He was born in Ireland, and was said to be of the same family with Henry Grattan the Irish Orator. While quite a young man he went to Scotland and there married a Miss Brown and soon afterwards came to America and settled in Philadelphia, where he resided several years. He moved to the Valley of Virginia and became a merchant in the town of Staunton. He participated in the meeting of the freeholders of Augusta, held on the 22nd of February, 1775, which passed the celebrated resolutions referred to by Mr. Grigsby.

While he was too old to bear arms during the revolutionary war, he was an ardent whig, and supported the cause with all the ardor of his nature. His son John Grattan was an officer in one of Virginia's regiments, and died in service in Georgia. He patented a large tract of land on the north branch of the Shenandoah, in what was then Augusta county, but afterwards Rockingham county. He built the first flour mill west of the Blue Ridge. The mill is still standing, and the old homestead, where he spent the latter part of his life, is owned by his grandson Judge George G. Grattan. When the county of Rockingham was formed in 1778 his residence fell into the new county, and he was commissioned one of the justices of the county court, being fourth on the list. He was a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian of the old Covenanters faith, and was for many years an elder in old Augusta Stone Church. He died about 1790, leaving a son and several daughters. His son Robert Grattan commanded a company of cavalry that was sent to quell the whiskey insurrection in Western Pennsylvania. His son Maj. Robert Grattan remained at the old homestead in Rockingham, and was elected a Trustee of Washington College in 1854, and served until his early death in 1856.

One of the daughters of John Grattan married Col. Robert Gamble, an alumnus of the Academy and a distinguished officer of the Revolution. He commanded one of the companies that stormed Stony Point, and was the first to enter the fort when it was captured by General Anthony Wayne. One of Col. Grattan's daughters married the celebrated William Wirt; another married William H. Cabell, Governor of Virginia, and for many years a Judge of the Court of Appeals of Virginia.

SAMUEL DOAK, D. D.

Samuel Doak was one of the trustees appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1782, to supply vacancies in the body appointed in 1776. He was the son of Samuel Doak (the ancestor of Gen. Robert Doak Lilley, who served the University so zealously and efficiently as general agent) and Jane Mitchell, who emigrated very young from the North of Ireland and settled in Chester county, Pennsylvania. After their marriage, they removed to Virginia and settled in Augusta county near the present village of Greenville. Their son Samuel was born in 1749. At the age of sixteen he was admitted to full communion in the Presbyterian Church of New Providence; and soon after commenced a course of classical study with Robert Alexander, who resided about two miles from his father's house. He continued in the school after it passed under the care of the Rev. John Brown, who was assisted by a Dr. Edmondson and Ebenezer Smith. In October, 1773, he entered Princeton College, where he graduated in 1775. Returning to Virginia, he married Esther Montgomery, sister of the Rev. John Montgomery who was appointed a trustee at the same time with him. Shortly after, he became a tutor in Hampden Sidney College, and pursued divinity under the Rev. John Blair Smith the President of the College. He was licensed as a preacher by Hanover Presbytery in October, 1777. He commenced preaching in Washington county, Virginia, and after remaining there some time he removed to Washington county, Tennessee, where he organized several churches and an institution of learning, which was chartered by the Legislature of North Carolina in 1788 under the name of Martin Academy, and was the first literary institution established in the great Valley of the Mississippi. In 1795 it was changed into a college and received the name of Washington. He continued President of the College until 1808, when he resigned in favor of his son, the Rev. John M. Doak, M. D., and removed to Bethel. During his presidency the College prospered

greatly and supplied the opportunities for education for ministers, lawyers and doctors in the early days of Tennessee. At Bethel he opened an academy to prepare youth for college, and named it Tusculum, where he passed the remainder of his days in usefulness and honor. He was a distinguished preacher and teacher, and died on the 12th day of December, 1830, in his eighty-second year. Foote, in his *Sketches of North Carolina*, quotes a gentleman who knew him well as saying: "His praise is in all the churches. During the Revolutionary War, he was a warm, decided, and uniform friend of civil and religious liberty, took part in the defence of his country, was a member of the convention that in 1784-5 gave rise to the insurrectionary state of Franklin; was upon the committee that reported an article of its constitution making provision for the support of learning; and to the close of life was still its devoted servant, advocate and patron. A rigid opposer of innovation in religious tenets; very old-school in all his notions and actions; uncompromising in his love of the truth, and his hostility to error or heresy, a John Knox in his character, fearless, firm, nearly dogmatical and intolerant; but no one has been more useful to church or state, except it be Hall or Coldwell in North Carolina, or Waddell in South Carolina and Georgia. A volume would not exhaust the incidents of his life."

REV. EDWARD CRAWFORD.

Edward Crawford was one of the Presbyterian trustees appointed in 1782 and was also elected a member of the incorporated body in 1791, and served until 1795. He was born in Augusta county, near Buffalo Gap, and was the son of Alexander Crawford and Mary McPheeters. He was a student at the Augusta Academy when under the care of the Rev. John Brown, and subsequently entered Princeton College, where he graduated in 1775, in the same class with Samuel Doak. He was a member of Lexington Presbytery at its organization on the 26th of September, 1786, and was the moderator of the Presbytery at its meetings in April and September, 1792, at Lexington and Harrisonburg. He preached in Randolph county and then in Botetourt. About 1795 he removed to Tennessee, and greatly assisted his old friend and class-mate, Samuel Doak, in the conduct and management of Washington College, Tennessee, of which he was one of the chartered trustees. He preached for many years in Tennessee, and was a useful citizen, and especially a friend of education. The date of his death is unknown.

REV. ARCHIBALD SCOTT.

Rev. Archibald Scott was born in Scotland and emigrated to Pennsylvania at an early age. He was an agricultural laborer, but his religious deportment and the studious employment of all his leisure hours in the acquisition of useful knowledge attracted the attention of Dr. Cooper, a Presbyterian minister. Upon further acquaintance he encouraged him to commence a course of study for the sacred ministry. He pursued his classical studies under a Mr. Finley, whose course of instruction was extensive though principally confined to the classics. He then came to the Valley of Virginia and entered Liberty Hall Academy under Mr. Graham. In 1777 he was licensed to preach the gospel with Edward Crawford and Samuel Doak. He became the pastor of Brown's Meeting House and North Mountain church, now known as Hebron and Bethel, and continued in this charge during his life. He was a devoted and earnest preacher, and exercised great influence in the church and in the community. He was appointed a trustee by Presbytery in 1782, and elected a member of the corporate body in 1784. He closed his useful life on the 4th day of March, 1799, at his residence, six miles southwest of Staunton. The University recognizes among its alumni many of his descendants.

JAMES MCCONNELL.

James McConnell, one of the Presbyterian trustees of 1782, graduated at Princeton in 1773, and became a Presbyterian minister. He was pastor of Oxford, High Bridge and Falling Spring churches in Rockbridge county. After serving these churches for several years, he removed in 1787 beyond the Alleghanies.

BENJAMIN ERWIN.

Benjamin Erwin was one of the trustees appointed by Presbytery in 1782. He graduated at Princeton in 1776, and coming to Virginia was ordained by Hanover Presbytery in 1780 pastor of Mossy Creek and Cook's Creek churches. He died pastor of his first charge. Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., grew up under his ministry.

CAPT. JOHN LEWIS.

Among the trustees appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1776 was Capt. John Lewis at the Warm Springs. He was the son of Thomas

Lewis, of whom a sketch is given by Mr. Grigsby, and was born near Port Republic in the present county of Rockingham in 1749. He removed to the Warm Springs, and became the owner of that celebrated summer resort. He commanded a company in Col. Charles Lewis's regiment at Point Pleasant, and was dangerously wounded. He was subsequently an officer in the Revolution and was distinguished for his gallantry and devotion to duty. He died at the Warm Springs in 1788, at the age of thirty-nine, in the midst of a career of great usefulness.

JAMES McCORKLE.

James McCorkle was born in the north of Ireland, and emigrated to America and settled in Staunton, where he successfully pursued the business of a merchant. He joined the tide of emigration which set toward southwestern Virginia about 1770, and settled at Ingles Ferry on New River, where he engaged most successfully in merchandising. He subsequently became the owner of the splendid estate known as Dunkards Bottoms, in that part of Montgomery county comprised in the present county of Pulaski, and formerly owned by Israel Christian.

He was commissioned a justice of the peace by Gov. Nelson in 1773. Among his associates on the bench were Col. William Christian, Col. William Preston, Daniel Trigg and James McGavock. He was the High Sheriff of Montgomery county 1778-80. He was a leading citizen of southwest Virginia, and died and was buried in 1794, at Dunkards Bottoms.

JOSEPH WALKER.

Joseph Walker came with the first tide of emigration from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, to the Valley of Virginia, and settled near the present town of Lexington. He was one of the three granters of the land upon which Liberty Hall Academy was built, which was burned in 1803, and the picturesque ruins of which can still be seen from the University. He afterwards removed to a large farm on Buffalo, including what is now known as Buffalo Mills. He was for many years a Justice of the Peace, was High Sheriff of the county, and was a ruling elder in both Monmouth and Falling Spring churches. He was appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1782 a trustee, and was one of the trustees named in the charter. He continued to serve until 1815, a period of more than thirty years, and the records of the Board attest his punctual attendance, and his fidelity to duty. He was a

large man, of dark complexion, commanding in appearance, and rather taciturn. His wife was Jane Moore, the aunt of Mary Moore, the "Captive of Abb's Valley," who lived with him after her return from captivity. His daughter married the Rev. Samuel Houston referred to by Mr. Grigsby in his sketch of John Houston, and his grandson the Rev. Samuel R. Houston was for many years a member of the Board.

WILLIAM WARD AND JAMES TROTTER.

Of William Ward and James Trotter we have been able to get but little definite information. They were both doubtless born in the north of Ireland and came with the tide of immigration that set toward the Valley between 1740 and 1750.

William Ward lived in Augusta near Robert Alexander's school, and removed to South Carolina about 1779.

James Trotter settled in Augusta county near Mount Sidney about 1749. He subsequently removed to the neighborhood of the present village of Middlebrook, where he died about 1791. His son George Trotter laid out the village of Middlebrook and subsequently removed to Lexington, Kentucky.

JOHN LYLE.

Most of what is now known of this excellent man is derived from a memoir of him written by the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander of Princeton, but not published, and from an article by the same hand in the *Biblical Repertory* of April, 1848.

He was of the Scotch-Irish stock. His father, also named John Lyle, had emigrated from the north of Ireland in the early part of the eighteenth century, and settled first in Pennsylvania. But after a time he removed to what is now Rockbridge county, Virginia, and fixed his abode on Timber Ridge, about three miles southwest of where the village of Fairfield now stands. The date of his removal to Rockbridge is not known; but it was certainly before 1753, for in that year he was one of the signers of the call of the Rev. John Brown to the pastorate of the Timber Ridge church.

John Lyle, the trustee, son of the emigrant, was born either in Pennsylvania or in Virginia, on the 10th of July, 1746. He grew to manhood and spent all the days of a long and useful life on Timber Ridge, where he owned a small farm, which he cultivated with his own hands, being conscientiously opposed to becoming a slave-holder. Of

his personal appearance Dr. Alexander says: "John Lyle grew to be a large man, above six feet in height, and was what is vulgarly called raw-boned. His face was somewhat marked by small-pox; but his appearance was dignified and his countenance benignant." He seems to have taken but little part in military or political affairs; but was active in charitable work, and specially zealous in the cause of education and religion. In 1782 the Presbytery appointed him one of the trustees of Liberty Hall; in 1784 he became a member of the incorporated board, and for over thirty years thereafter he was one of the most earnest and active trustees of the Academy and the College, as the records testify. His private life was singularly pure and unselfish. Of his course as a church officer Dr. Alexander says: "As a faithful and efficient elder in the Presbyterian church I have never known his superior, if I have his equal. He had furnished his mind by diligent reading, with knowledge in all branches of theology; and was especially thoroughly conversant with the most judicious and spiritual authors on experimental religion." And in another connection he says:

"Elder John Lyle, as he was called to distinguish him from others of the same name, was in my opinion a man of eminent piety. In the period succeeding the war of the Revolution vital piety had sunk very low in the Valley of Virginia; most professors seemed to have little of the genuine spirit of religion; and fell into undue conformity to the world and its fashions and amusements. But during this time of general declension John Lyle and his wife stood forth as shining examples of vital godliness and holy living."

John Lyle died at his residence in Rockbridge, in September, 1815, in his 70th year. His wife was Flora Reid, a sister of Dr. Alexander's mother. The Rev. John Lyle, "the pioneer preacher of Kentucky," so prominent in the early history of the Presbyterian church in that state, was his son. Joel Reid Lyle of Paris, Ky., was another son. Both were pupils of the Academy.—D. C. L.

This completes the sketches of the trustees mentioned in the charter of 1782, and those previously appointed by the Presbytery.

Sketches of the trustees appointed since 1782 will be prepared and published from time to time in these papers.

W. McL.

1

ADDRESS
BEFORE THE
ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE,

June 29, 1843,

BY THE
REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D.

Gentlemen, Alumni of Washington College:


It is a truth as fully established by experience as any other, that the human mind is eminently susceptible of improvement by culture. Indeed it cannot be denied that without some kind of education the intellectual faculties will not be developed; although the body might grow up to manhood, the mind would remain in a state of infantile feebleness. This truth is beautifully illustrated by a classic writer, who compares the uncultivated mind to the statue while it remains in the block of marble.

But although the necessity of education to improve the mind is acknowledged by all, yet there exists much difference of opinion respecting the best means of cultivating and strengthening the various powers and faculties which appertain to human nature. This is a subject on which knowledge can only be acquired by experience or the observation of facts. Here, mere theory is rather hurtful than beneficial. It is, indeed, by no means certain, that the best method of training and improving the faculties of the mind has been discovered. It would therefore be unwarrantable to assert that the systems of education heretofore in use were incapable of improvement. New discoveries may be made in

regard to the laws of mind, as well as those of matter ; but the difficulty in this investigation is, that we cannot make experiments with safety. The mind of every human being is too precious a material to be made the subject of experiments, to ascertain what improvements might be made in the methods by which it should be educated. No man would consent to have his son trained in some untried way, the effect of which could not be foreseen. There have, indeed, been many pretenders, who professed to be in possession of the secret of bringing forward the faculties of man much more rapidly, and of elevating them to a much higher standard, than can be done by the system in common use. But experience has taught the most credulous, that all such pretensions are vain. The common beaten track, along which so many have risen to eminence and celebrity, is, after all, the safest and best. When new discoveries are made in the science of education, they will probably be incidental, and should be cautiously and gradually introduced. It is not disputed that very extraordinary effects may be produced on particular faculties by an artificial method of training. I have seen boys taught on the Pestalozzian plan, who could perform wonders at the black board, in various kinds of intricate calculation ; but I never could ascertain that the youth thus educated ever rose to eminence in any profession or art. We know to what extraordinary feats of activity children have been trained, to qualify them to become successful mountebanks ; but would any judicious man suppose that children thus trained to perform prodigies could be better prepared than others to be useful farmers, mechanics, or soldiers ? And there is little reason to believe that a precocious and extraordinary development of the mental faculties, by an artificial process, will qualify a man successfully to perform the duties of those professions in society, which require the best exercise of the powers of judgment, invention, and accurate reasoning. It is probable that assiduous efforts to elicit the exercise of the intellectual faculties at a period earlier than that in which in the common course of nature they appear, are rather injurious than beneficial to the mind. A precocious child may excite the wonder of visitors, and gratify the vanity of parents and teachers, but can furnish no proof that this premature development will lead to superior intellectual energy. Such youth soon arrive at the acme of their

maturity; that is, the too early development of the faculties probably has the consequence of an early decay. It is a proverb in more languages than one—*soon ripe, soon rotten*. It is not meant to discourage early education, but to suggest, that the kind of training should be adapted to the age of the pupil. Children are capable, at a very early age, of improving culture, both intellectual and moral; but the judicious plan seems to be, not to attempt to forestall the process of nature, but to aid her by meeting the opening faculties with such exercise and nutriment as is suited to give them strength and a right direction. In cities, where the children of the better class of citizens are necessarily kept, most of their time, in the house, or in the school, their progress in learning is often surprisingly rapid until the age of fourteen or fifteen, but here most of them stop; and though so many make a good beginning, very few attain to eminence in classical literature; for this, however, other reasons may be assigned; [but it may not be useless to remark, that those parents judge wisely, who, having sons to educate, send them to a good school in the country. And where parents, residing in cities, are in circumstances to spend the summer months in the country, the effect on the minds as well as the bodies of their children will be very beneficial. The best part of education, as far as the mere vigor of body and mind is concerned, is derived from a familiar converse with the objects of nature.] Children reared from their infancy in crowded cities, and confined to school from the time they can speak and walk, have been fitly compared to plants raised in a hot-house. They are commonly precocious, and bring forth early fruit; but it has a sickly appearance, and never acquires much strength, but soon falls in decay; and the fruit thus produced wants the genuine flavor and fragrance of the same species when it comes to maturity in the open air and under the common influences of heaven. Injury may not only be done to the mind by attempting to force a too early maturity, but also by exercising unduly some one faculty, while the others are neglected. We know that particular muscles and members of the body may be strengthened at the expense of the other parts; but though this may be beneficial for the execution of some special work, it is for general purposes a disadvantage. And so the mind may, by a particular mode of treatment, acquire an extraordinary

vigor of some one faculty ; but such training is not judicious. A just balance, so to speak, should be preserved between all the faculties, so that while no one should greatly preponderate, no one should remain dormant. The memory being the first of our intellectual faculties which is developed, and being susceptible of continual improvement, it is more frequently cultivated unduly, or improperly, than any other. Indeed, in the earlier stages of education, the memory is principally the faculty with which the teacher has to do ; and the power which at this age it possesses of acquiring and retaining language should be carefully improved. But it is an error to suppose that such a memory may not be too retentive. Suppose a person to retain in memory, infallibly, every word and idea which ever entered the mind,—would such a memory be advantageous ? I think not. The mind of such a person would be encumbered with a multitude of useless ideas, which would be continually recurring, and associating themselves with other thoughts, so as to produce confusion and perplexity, and embarrass the reasoning faculty in its operation. A much more useful memory would be that which retained only important and useful things, while it let others slip. A good memory is the very opposite of a sieve, which suffers the wheat to fall through, but retains the chaff ; yet there are found among men, memories which greatly resemble the sieve ; for while they suffer good things to pass away they are very retentive of those ideas which are frivolous and corrupting. The art of mnemonics is curious, and has, by forming strong and arbitrary associations of ideas, performed wonders ; but I have never known anyone benefited by it. Indeed, I am of opinion that it is positively injurious, by fixing in the mind such associations as must be cumbersome and inconvenient ; especially in close reasoning, when it is desirable to exclude from our thoughts every irrelevant idea. If it were of importance for a man to be able to retain in memory long catalogues of names, such as the dynasties of princes, this art could afford much aid ; but in regard to such things and many others, it is better to have them in books than in minds. A memory tenacious of words in their order, is the lamest kind of memory ; while that which disregards words and retains ideas in their proper relations, in a comprehensive, systematic manner, is the best. The reason why many young men do not realize the expectations which their



recitations in college encouraged is, that they trusted too much to memory, while their judgment and reasoning faculty were but little exercised. In all cases where lessons are recited from text-books, the man of verbal memory will excel ; while a competitor who depends more on his own judgment may appear on a common examination far inferior, although in reality he may be much the superior of the two.

There is often a great mistake made even by intelligent teachers, in regard to the real talents of young men. The case of a mere verbal memory has already been brought to view ; but there is another no less common, when a scholar excels every other, in his class, in the quickness of his apprehension, and also in the celerity with which he commits his lesson to memory. Such persons always appear on recitations and examinations to great advantage, and are usually considered as possessed of superior mental endowments. But this judgment is often erroneous. Another may require much longer time to apprehend any new subject, but the very circumstance of its requiring a longer time for him to understand the point in question, leads him to take a more deliberate view of it, in all its bearings ; and it is proverbial, that that which is quickly memorized is readily forgotten, whereas that which is fixed in the memory by dint of effort it more apt to remain. Quickness of apprehension also is commonly united with volubility of speech ; while slowness in taking up a new subject is usually attended with a slow method of communication. Hence the former, though not really superior, enjoys great advantages in all hasty and superficial trials of talent and scholarship. And hence it comes to pass that in many cases college honors are no certain criterion by which to judge of the degrees of eminence to which students will arise when they enter upon their professional career. Men of slow movement are also under a greater necessity of improving all their time, and thus acquire habits of patient study and regular industry.

Of all qualifications in a student, there is none which is more certainly connected with future eminence than an inextinguishable thirst for knowledge—universal knowledge, as far as it is attainable. This very desire, however, may mislead, if not wisely directed ; as, for example, if a young man under its influence should undertake to pursue all kinds of knowledge at once. He would

waste his time and energies amidst a multiplicity of objects, and would become accurately acquainted with none. The principles of mental philosophy would lead to the conclusion that a man can pursue, advantageously, only one branch of knowledge at once, unless some other can be made to serve as a relaxation of the mind. Some successful students confine their attention so closely to one study, that they feel a kind of indifference to all others, and do not wish to be interrupted by anything else in the steady pursuit of their favorite object. Such men are commonly great in their own profession, but very deficient in general knowledge. I have known a man who was a profound lawyer, and thoroughly versed in all the intricacies of the legal profession, who knew no more of the improvements in modern science than a child. What he might have learned at college he had long since forgotten; and when his eye met a scientific paragraph in the periodical papers which he perused, he would immediately turn away his attention to something else. Another, who practised at the same bar, was also accurately learned in all that related to his profession, and delighted in legal studies; but he had a mind forever awake to every species of knowledge, and wherever he was he would find sources of information. An old volume in the window of a tavern, or even an old almanac, would be seized with avidity; and he would derive some information from every book and every person with whom he came in contact. And here it may be remarked to the younger part of my audience, that there is scarcely a man, or woman, in the world, from whom something might not be learned. This thirst of knowledge, when it does not draw the mind off from the proper studies of our profession, may lead us, without any loss of time, to amass an amazing store of general knowledge, and will fit us to be entertaining and instructive to all with whom we may associate.

The maxim which should be adopted by all who have enjoyed the benefit of a liberal education is, not to suffer any acquisition which they have made to be lost. If it was worth acquiring, it is worth preserving, especially as this can be done with so much ease. Yet there is nothing in which the alumni of our colleges are, in fact, more generally censurable. Most of them no sooner leave their *alma mater* than they turn away their minds from all their college studies. They do not deliberately form the purpose to

forget all that they have learned, but they actually pursue the course which leads to this result. A very short space, every day, or even twice a week, would, employed in these studies, enable the student not only to preserve the learning which he had acquired, but to increase it. And if this course were immediately pursued, it would be, from the first, a pleasing relaxation from business, or from severe professional studies. But after a few years' neglect, this knowledge seems to be encrusted with so thick a coating of rust, that to commence an attempt to recover what is so entirely lost appears like beginning an education anew. But I wish to state one fact, which can only be learned by experience, and therefore is frequently unknown to the young,—which is, that knowledge, of any kind, which has been once possessed, however it may seem to be utterly obliterated, can easily be recovered. There is no need to go over the whole process of learning every thing anew in detail; but when the mind is a short time exercised in the reminiscence of a subject once known, suddenly the whole is revived as it formerly existed in the mind. This is an important law of the mind which should be extensively known.

It has appeared to me expedient, on the principle that perfection in any art or business depends very much on the division of labor, that every educated man should select some one branch of science or literature to which he would direct such special attention as to become master of it. By this means we should have men so skilled in every branch as to be capable of giving instruction on it either by lectures or from the press.

The field of learning has become so wide that no man can be accurate in his knowledge of every department. To excel in any particular branch, much time and attention must be devoted to it. And this special attention to some favorite object need not interfere with professional pursuits, nor with the steady pursuit of general knowledge. It might be made the amusement of vacant hours, which otherwise would run to waste. And if a man should never have occasion to make use of such knowledge by endeavoring to instruct others, still it would richly repay him for the time and attention bestowed upon it; as every one knows by experience how much more satisfaction the accurate knowledge of a subject affords, than that which is partial and superficial.

There was a time, in this country, when there was danger of the learned languages being excluded from a course of liberal education. The prejudice against the study of Latin and Greek was so strong, that many parents were borne along with the current, and actually insisted that their sons should be educated in the sciences and in English literature, while the Latin and Greek classics were laid aside. The influence which these sentiments obtained over public opinion may be judged of from the fact, that in the "Annals of Yale College, it is stated that in the year 1827, a committee was appointed to inquire into the expediency of so altering the regular course of instruction in this college, as to leave out of said course the study of the dead languages, substituting other studies, therefor." And in some other colleges, the Greek language was dispensed with, and some modern language substituted in its place. And the effect was to turn away the attention of youth from the dead languages, by which means classical learning has, in this country, been much retarded. But there is reason to hope that the tide has turned, and that now there is an increasing opinion that these languages are an important branch of a liberal education which cannot, without great injury, be laid aside. The arguments, however, in favor of excluding them are so popular, and have been handled so adroitly, that there are still some who consider this study as useless, or at least as far less valuable than many branches of science which might be substituted in their place. And it may be expected that objections will continue to be made to the common course pursued in our schools and colleges, on this account. It may therefore be proper briefly to remark, that the opinion which is hostile to the study of Latin and Greek as a part of liberal education, mistakes the primary object of education. The argument goes on the supposition that the accumulation of useful knowledge is the only thing to be considered in judging of the efficiency of different plans; whereas, the most important end of education is to develope, exercise, strengthen, and direct the several faculties of the mind. When these are well disciplined, the acquisition of every kind of knowledge will be easy; without it the accumulation of stores of knowledge will be of little value; or, to speak more correctly, the mind which has not been properly trained is incapable of acquiring the most important branches of

knowledge. It may be asked whether the mind may not be as well trained by learning other things, which may be turned to some useful purpose. To which we reply, that it has been found by long experience that the study of these ancient languages has the effect of exercising not only the memory but also the judgment. Besides, the compositions found in these languages are written with consummate skill ; and as specimens of exquisite taste, both in prose and verse, have nothing superior and scarcely any parallel in the writings of other nations. And a good taste in pupils is most effectually cultivated by intimate acquaintance with the best models. Our young men who possess a talent for the fine arts, judge wisely in going to Italy, where they have before them the most perfect specimens of the arts in every department. But as the exquisite poems, orations, and histories of the ancients are capable of being easily transported from place to place, and multiplied by the press, we have no occasion to go abroad for these, but every student may have them in possession in his own study, and by a daily familiarity with these models it cannot be otherwise but that the taste of the scholar will be gradually refined, and the judgment in regard to such matters be rendered correct.

One of the things in the state of our country which prevents the alumni of our colleges from rising to eminence in their respective professions is, that the demand for their services and the openings for employment are so great, that they are induced to enter into public life much too soon. It is indeed true that many continue to improve after engaging in the duties of public or professional life ; but it will be found that the degree of improvement will be in an exact ratio to the point from which they set out. The more knowledge a man has, the greater is his capacity for improving in knowledge. That man, therefore, who goes into public life with a mind well disciplined, and well furnished with professional and general knowledge, will rise faster than one who commences with lower attainments. As the professions which engage the attention of literary men become full, there will be an increasing necessity for those who aspire to honorable and useful distinction, not to venture on the theatre of public life until their minds are fully matured, and their knowledge enlarged and systematized. Hereafter men of superficial education and meagre attainments need not expect to

rise as did men of this description in former times : pre-eminence in any learned profession can only be expected now, by those who have devoted years to preparatory studies.

But while it is true that many young men improve after entering on the practice of their profession, there are others who never advance : they remain stationary or rather retrograde in their course. Such bring no honor to their profession, but rather disgrace ; and are commonly useless members of society.

In answer to all that has been said in favor of regular education and long continued preparation, it has been alleged, that some of our greatest men have reached to the eminence which they possess, without any regular course of liberal education, and without the habit of close and systematic study. The fact cannot be denied, and should be considered as an exception to a well established general rule ; and every one knows that a general rule is rather established than subverted by the existence of a few exceptions. In reply to the objection it is sometimes said, that, eminent as these characters are, they would have been more so, if they had enjoyed the advantages of a regular and liberal education. But the truth of this is not evident. I am of opinion, that some minds, peculiarly constituted, acquire greater power, and rise to greater eminence, by being thrown into circumstances favorable to the development and vigor of their faculties, than if they had been trained in the regular course of scholastic studies. But it would be folly to neglect regular education and attention to study and discipline, which for ages have been found useful to most, because a small number of men have arisen, by an uncommon road, to superior excellence, without having been trained in the usual way. I have seen a boy of six years of age, who had never learned the first rules of arithmetic, who could in a minute answer questions which a practised accountant could not answer in less than five or ten minutes ; but would it be wise for this reason to omit teaching children the common rules of arithmetic ? It is however true, that men whose minds rise to a high degree of vigor in an extraordinary way, do always labor under some peculiar disadvantages ; their knowledge, though great and accurate, is confined to particular branches, while other departments are left untouched. A distinguished man, in this state, informed me, a few days since, that

one of our greatest statesmen and most effective orators knew no more of the British poets than a child. That such a man should be ignorant of the higher mathematics and sublimer parts of astronomy, would not be wonderful, but that he should be unacquainted with Milton and Shakespeare is really surprising. One excellent end of a regular college education is, that the youth is carried through a circle of the sciences, and surveys the general condition of polite literature. It is important to have some general acquaintance with the encyclopedia of human knowledge, and with the present state of advancement in each particular branch.

The greatest difficulty which now occurs in conducting a liberal education is, to know how much to include in the college course. The field of learning has become so extensive, that an attempt to comprehend every branch would necessarily render the course superficial; and it should be a fixed principle in education, not to build a large structure upon a slender foundation. Solidity and strength should never be sacrificed for extent and variety. Some branches of knowledge, both useful and ornamental, must be omitted, or slightly touched, in our literary institutions; and by those who desire an acquaintance with them, may be better acquired in other places. The rule should be to render the student thorough in the elementary and fundamental parts, and to add, of others, as much as can be comprehended in the time allotted to the course; still giving precedence to those branches which are most important and useful.

It seems to me that the importance of education in all its stages requires that more qualified persons should devote their time and attention to teaching. The profession of an instructor in the lower and higher schools, should be held in much greater esteem, and more liberally remunerated, than they have been in time past. Well qualified instructors should constitute another learned profession, and should be considered as standing on equal ground with gentlemen of the other learned professions. But well qualified teachers we cannot have in sufficient numbers, unless seminaries for the education of teachers, and normal schools, be instituted. By means of these, education in the kingdom of Prussia has been placed on a better footing, and extended more generally to all classes of people, than in any country on the globe. What has

there been accomplished by a wise exertion of arbitrary power ought to be effected here by the voluntary and energetic action of the whole people. Great good often springs from small beginnings. The acorn grows up to be a sturdy oak in the forest. It is difficult to bring great schemes of benevolence into operation at once. Human wisdom is not sufficient to adapt them to all the varying contingencies which must be met. I like Dr. Chalmers' idea of beginning near home, and cultivating a small field thoroughly, and gradually enlarging our operations, and combining our efforts with those of others, as may be found convenient. The establishment of a good school for teachers, in this Valley, would be an enterprise deserving universal patronage, and could not but be a rich blessing to the country. And why would not this place be suitable for such an institution?

The most dangerous error on the subject of education which is becoming prevalent in this country is that of excluding religious instruction from our schools; especially from common schools. This error has been committed by some of the States of this Union which have done most for the general promotion of education.

As religion is the most important of all subjects, it may seem strange, at first view, that there should exist any objection to its being made part of every system of education. But there are some plausible objections, which deserve to be noticed. It is alleged that the minds of youth should not be prejudiced in favor of any religion, before the judgment has come to maturity; that the minds of children should be left unoccupied until they are capable of judging for themselves on this important subject.

If this plan were pursued on all subjects, as well as religion, it would put an end to the education of youth, and we see not why the objection is not applicable to every species of knowledge concerning which there can be any diversity of opinion. But the true and sufficient answer to this objection is, that the human mind cannot be kept free from the influence of all religious opinions and impressions, and if we neglect to inculcate sound principles, such as are erroneous and dangerous will be adopted. The only way to keep out error is to pre-occupy the mind with truth. The heart of man is like a rich garden, which, if neglected, will teem with

noxious weeds, to prevent the growth of which the ground must be cultivated and good seed must be sowed. And if it were possible to keep the mind entirely unoccupied until manhood, the consequence would be that the powers of the mind would remain dormant, and its condition more deplorable than if it had been occupied with any system of instruction whatever, for every such system contains much truth ; and among Protestant Christians, the instructions given to children are generally composed of the most important and necessary truths. Besides, religion is as much needed by the young, as by those of mature age. And the inculcation of its doctrines cannot be neglected without the greatest injury to the child.

Another objection, now more popular and prevalent, is, that since the people are divided into so many sects and denominations in our country, religion cannot make a part of the system of education, without interfering with the creeds or consciences of one sect or another. This may be a valid reason for not teaching, in common schools, the peculiarities of any one denomination, but it is no reason at all why those things should not be taught in which all Protestants agree. As all admit that the Bible is true and the source of all correct information on the subject of religion, there can be no reasonable objection to having it read in schools. This ancient and sacred book should be studied, if for nothing else, as a most venerable record of antiquity. The truth is, no education can be complete, even as it relates to the early history of the world, and of ancient nations, without the Bible. The early histories of other nations do not reach back with any distinctness, even to the time when the history of the Old Testament closes ; and the history of early times by all profane authors is so deformed with monstrous fables that it furnishes no real instruction. The only difficulty which arises from the use of the Bible in our schools is the opposition of the Romanists, who do not approve our version, and who, indeed, are unwilling to have their children made acquainted with the contents of the Holy Scriptures, except such parts as their priests choose to communicate. Their people have not the privilege which the Bereans enjoyed, of daily searching the Sacred Scriptures, to see whether what is taught by their teachers is true or not : they must believe everything with an implicit faith ; so that for them,

ignorance is better than knowledge. But as it regards these people, the difficulty only occurs in our large cities and a few other places, where Papists abound. Happily, in most parts of our country, this class of people are not found, or in numbers so small that no exceptions need be made to accommodate them. And where they are numerous, they should be left to pursue their own course, undisturbed by the civil authority; and their children should be permitted to be gathered into schools of their own; but they should not be allowed to interrupt that course of instruction which is judged to be the most efficient, in a country where four-fifths of the people are Protestants. Religion, I repeat it again, is infinitely the most important and necessary part of education. Leave this out, and it will be doubtful whether our schools will not do more harm than good, for sound morality rests on religion as its basis.

Gentlemen of the Alumni, the object of your association doubtless is, to promote the permanent prosperity of your beloved and respected *alma mater*. The character and success of every literary institution depends very much upon its Alumni in two ways. First, they stamp its character by the talents, scholarship, and principles which they exhibit, when they come before the world, in their respective professions, and public occupations. In this way they honor or disgrace the place of their education, without any direct design to promote its prosperity, or the reverse; for the public must and will judge of a college or seminary, not by a few specimens favorable or unfavorable—but by the general character of her Alumni. The more eminent, then, gentlemen, you become, for wisdom and integrity in your several pursuits, the more honor will you reflect on your *alma mater*, and the want of ability or of virtuous principle in any of you, cannot fail, in some degree, to inflict a wound on her reputation. It may be, that more is expected of the Faculties of literary institutions, in disciplining the minds and moulding the characters of their pupils, than is reasonable; but the public possess no other means of appreciating the character and efficiency of such institutions, than the virtues and attainments of those instructed and trained in their halls; and the making this the criterion by which to judge of the comparative excellence of different colleges is fair, and devolves upon their

professors and teachers a responsibility which ought to be felt, and which cannot but be salutary to the community.

The other way in which the Alumni of a college may promote her prosperity is, by individual and associated effort to advance her interests. By defending her against calumny and misrepresentation ; by communicating information respecting the facilities and advantages of education which she possesses ; by lending their aid to give effect to applications to the Legislature, or to the public, for funds which may be needed ; and especially, by selecting some one object connected with her reputation and interests, which by their combined efforts they will promote. Such, for example, as the enlargement of her library. This is an object well worthy of the vigorous and persevering efforts of the Alumni of Washington College. There is no reason why American institutions for educating youth may not stand on a level with the most celebrated of Europe, with this one exception, that compared with theirs our libraries are small and meagre. Foreigners who visit our country, speak with contempt—as they justly may—of the insignificance of all the libraries in this country. Indeed, if they were all collected into one, it would not be so complete as the library of some single institution in Europe which might be mentioned. As to professors and teachers, there is no reason why our colleges should be inferior to theirs ; for it cannot be doubted, that American genius is not inferior to European ; and many of our young men study in the best institutions of foreign countries ; and it is not found difficult to induce Europeans who have acquired celebrity to come as professors to this country. But it will be long before we can vie with the European universities in the extent and richness of our libraries. No doubt our colleges are too much multiplied, but the evil will correct itself ; and, after a while, only those which are really needed will continue in operation ; and of these, those which shall possess the most extensive and valuable libraries will acquire a permanent pre-eminence. The attraction of distinguished and eloquent professors will be variable, but that college, or university, which shall establish a library superior to all others in the country, will possess a standing recommendation not only to students, but to able professors and authors, who need such a library to complete works of learning which may be profit-

able to the whole community. I cannot forbear, therefore, to recommend this object to the special attention of the Alumni of Washington College, now convened.

I cannot conclude this address without pronouncing a brief eulogy on the man who deserves to be called the Father of this College, and whose memory should be venerated by all its Alumni. I mean the Rev. WILLIAM GRAHAM.

Mr. Graham was born in one of the eastern counties of Pennsylvania, and until the age of manhood was brought up in the business of agriculture, which he understood well and of which he was always fond. But at this period of his life, having undergone a great change in his religious views and feelings, he resolved to prepare for the work of the holy ministry. The obstacles in his way were, indeed, great, but being encouraged by the counsels and aided by the efforts and prayers of a most excellent mother, to whom he attributed in a great measure his success in this important enterprise, he ventured, under all discouragements, to go forward in endeavoring to obtain a liberal education, depending on the guidance and aid of Divine Providence. Having prepared himself to enter the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, he entered that institution, in company with a number of young men, who became eminent in the church or state. Among them as a scholar he stood pre-eminent; for during the college course he gained a whole year; that is he anticipated the studies of the senior year, before the class entered on them, and was permitted to retire from college till the time of the examination of his class, when he attended with them, and was graduated in the year 1773. As his father was unable, conveniently, to bear the expenses of his son while at college, he contributed to his own support, by teaching in the grammar school, then under the special direction of Dr. Witherspoon, the President of the college. Having completed his college course, he pursued his theological studies under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Roane, a pious and distinguished divine, who resided in the vicinity of his father. But, during the whole period of his education, he was constantly engaged in the study of theology. But, among all his teachers he gave the preference to his excellent mother; and has been heard to say, that he learned

more of practical religion from her, than from all persons and books beside.

When the Presbytery of Hanover determined to establish a school in this Valley, for the rearing of young men for the ministry, they applied to the Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, then itinerating in the State, to recommend a suitable person to take charge of their school, upon which he at once recommended Mr. Graham ; and at their request wrote to him to come on to the Valley of Virginia.¹ Before this time, a classical school had been taught at a place called Mount Pleasant, near to the little town of Fairfield. Here Mr. Graham commenced his labors as a teacher ; and here we find the germ whence sprung this college. The acorn was then planted from which has proceeded the oak which is now spreading its branches abroad.

It was not long, however, before it was judged expedient to remove the infant school to Timber Ridge meeting house, where a convenient house for the Rector was built, and also an Academy and other small buildings for the accommodation of the students. A considerable sum was now raised, by subscription, for the purchase of books and a philosophical apparatus, and Mr. Graham was entrusted with the business of selecting and purchasing such articles as he should judge most useful and necessary ; and accordingly, he took a journey to Philadelphia, and executed, judiciously, the trust reposed in him. He also took a journey into New England, to solicit benefactions for the rising Academy, and not without some success, though not considerable. At this time, the prospects of the infant institution were very encouraging, and if no untoward events had occurred, there is reason to believe that it would have speedily risen to great eminence and usefulness. But the revolutionary war having burst on the country, threatening ruin and desolation, the attention of all *true* men was turned to the defence of the country ; and from no part of the United States, it is believed, did more young men enter the public service, than from this very region ; for in this whole country, half a dozen could not be found who were not true friends to the liberty and independence

¹ At the same meeting of the Presbytery of Hanover at which Mr. Graham was appointed Rector, Mr. John Montgomery was appointed Tutor.

of the country. Not only the youth who would have commenced a course of education were taken, but even those already in the institution, fired with an ardent patriotism, laid down their books, and seized the sword and the rifle. And it may truly be said, that the patriotic fire burned in no bosom with a warmer flame than in that of the rector of this Academy. On a certain occasion, when by the invitation of the executive authority of the State it was resolved to raise a volunteer company of riflemen to go into active service, and there appeared much backwardness in the men to come forward, he stepped out and had his own name enrolled, which produced such an effect that the company was immediately filled, of which he was unanimously chosen captain, and all necessary preparations were made for marching to the seat of war; when Gen. Washington signified to the governors of the States, that he did not wish any more volunteer companies to join the army.

The abandonment of the houses erected at Timber Ridge appears to have taken place—though without authority—as a matter of necessity. The income from the Academy was small, and his salary for preaching to the two congregations of Timber Ridge and Hall's Meeting House (now Monmouth) being paid in depreciated currency, it was impossible for him to support his family. He therefore resolved to return to farming, which, as has been said, he well understood. Accordingly, he purchased a small farm on the North River, within a mile or two of this spot.

The school at Timber Ridge was, however, continued for some time after Mr. Graham retired to his farm, and he endeavored to perform the duties of a rector, by visiting it and giving instruction several times in each week. But this being found very inconvenient to himself and disadvantageous to the school, after due deliberation, he resolved to relinquish the establishment at Timber Ridge, and to open a school in his own house. Here, the person who now addresses you, at an early age, commenced his course of classical learning. Even at this time, there was a respectable number of students in the school, most of them having reached the age and stature of men. After some time, a frame edifice was erected on ground given for the purpose, and the school was continued until, in the year 1782, application was made to the legis-

lature for an act of incorporation ; and accordingly, a number of trustees were formed into a body corporate, to have full charge of the Academy, which received the name of LIBERTY HALL ; which name it retained until it was endowed by General Washington, when his name was substituted for that which it had before borne. Before this donation was received, Mr. Graham had resigned his office of rector, or president ; though it is understood that he used all his influence to secure this important endowment ; and that he was the author of the letter addressed to General Washington, by the trustees, in favor of this institution.

Though Mr. Graham had some formidable opposers who had taken up strong prejudices against him, and although, after the close of the war, the character of the students who frequented the Academy was greatly deteriorated, and the difficulties which environed him were many and perplexing ; yet it must be conceded, that in resigning his important post at this time, he was not guided by his usual wisdom. Whatever be the character of youth, every civil and sacred interest requires that their education should be in the hands of pious men, and generally of ministers of the Gospel. And how can we hope for a reformation among the youth of our country, but by religious and moral instruction, and the exercise of salutary discipline. It is not expedient to bring distinctly into view, on this occasion, the disappointment which attended his favorite scheme of planting in the West a little colony of select families of like mind, who might live in peace, far from the contentions, bustle, and turmoil of the world. All such schemes must fail in the present state of human nature.

It is a remarkable fact, that this institution, although not honored with the name of a college, by its charter possessed all the powers of a college, being expressly authorized to grant literary degrees ; and although there were then no periodical commencements, yet in several instances the degree of bachelor of arts was granted, and in one instance, at least, publicly. The course of study in the Academy was precisely the same as that pursued at Princeton while Mr. Graham was a student in that college ; even the manuscript lectures of Dr. Witherspoon were copied, and studied by the students.

After this brief history, I will, as concisely as possible, give the character of this distinguished man, whose memory appears to be in danger of falling into oblivion.

Mr. Graham possessed a mind formed for profound and accurate investigation. He had studied the Latin and Greek classics with great care, and relished the beauties of these exquisite compositions. With those authors taught in the schools he was familiar, by a long practice in teaching, and always insisted on the importance of classical literature, as the proper foundation of a liberal education.

He had a strong inclination to the study of Natural Philosophy, and took pleasure in making experiments with such apparatus as he possessed ; and he had procured for the Academy as good an one as was then possessed by most of the colleges. In these experiments much time was employed, on which inquisitive persons, not connected with the Academy, were freely permitted to attend.

As he was an ardent patriot, and a thorough republican, the times in which he lived led him to bestow much attention on the science of government ; and one of the few pieces which he wrote for the press was on this subject. By some he was censured for meddling with politics, but it should be remembered, that at that time, this country, having cast off its allegiance to Great Britain, and declared itself independent, had to lay the foundation of governments, both for the States, and the nation ; and that the welfare of posterity as well as of the existing inhabitants of the country, was involved in the wisdom with which this work was done. The talents of every man capable of thinking and judging on such subjects, seemed to be fairly put into requisition. It is a sound maxim that men living at one time, must not be judged by the maxims of an age in which all circumstances are greatly changed. At the adoption of the federal constitution, which according to its original draft he did not approve, he relinquished all attention to politics during the remainder of his life.

The science, however, which engaged his attention more than all others, except theology, was the PHILOSOPHY OF THE MIND ! In this he took great delight, and to it devoted much time and attention. Though acquainted with the best treatises which had then been published, his investigations were not carried on so much

by books, as by a patient and repeated analysis of the various processes of thought as they arose in his own mind, and by reducing the phenomena thus observed to a regular system. The speaker is of opinion, that the system of mental philosophy which he thus formed, was, in clearness and fulness, superior to any thing which has been given to the public, in the numerous works which have recently been published on this subject. And it is greatly to be regretted that his lectures were never fully committed to writing, and published, for the benefit of the world. It was, however, a fault, in this man of profound thought, that he made little use of the pen. And it was also a defect, that in the latter years of his life he addicted himself little to reading the productions of other men ; and perhaps entertained too low an opinion of the value of books.

But it is time that we should consider Mr. Graham as a theologian and a preacher. From the time of his ordination by the Presbytery of Hanover in 1775, he became a teacher of theology. Most of those who entered the holy ministry in this Valley pursued their preparatory studies under his direction. And after the great revival which commenced in this Valley in the year 1789, Mr. Graham had a theological class of seven or eight members under his tuition, which was kept up for several years. It was his custom to devote one day in the week to hearing the written discourses of these candidates, and to a free discussion of theological points. In these exercises he appeared to take great delight ; and the students were always gratified and commonly convinced by his lucid statements and cogent reasonings. As most of those who enjoyed the benefit of his instructions in this incipient theological seminary are not now in the world, it may not be improper to say, that some of them rose to eminence in the church, and as professors or presidents of literary institutions. The influence which he gained over the minds of his pupils, while under his care, was unbounded. Seldom did any one of them venture to maintain an opinion different from those which he inculcated. Yet he encouraged the utmost freedom of discussion ; and seemed to aim, not so much to bring his pupils to think as he did, as to teach them to think on all subjects for themselves. A slavish subjection to any human authority he repudiated ; and therefore never

attempted to add weight to his opinions by referring to a long list of authors, of great name; but uniformly insisted, that all opinions should be subjected to the test of Scripture and reason. Some of his students have been heard to say, that the chief benefit which they derived from his instructions was, that by this means they were led to the free and independent exercise of their own faculties in the investigation of truth.

Mr. Graham, in his theological creed, was strictly orthodox, according to the standards of his own church, which he greatly venerated; but in his method of explaining some of the knotty points in theology he departed considerably from the common track; and was of opinion that many things which have been involved in perplexity and obscurity by the manner in which they have been treated, are capable of being easily and satisfactorily explained by the application of sound principles of philosophy. As a preacher, he was always instructive and evangelical; though, in common, his delivery was rather feeble and embarrassed, than forcible; but when his feelings were excited, his voice became penetrating, and his whole manner awakening and impressive. And his profound study of the human heart enabled him to describe the various exercises of the Christian with a clearness and truth which often greatly surprised his pious hearers; for it seemed to them as if he could read the very inmost sentiments of their minds; which he described more perfectly than they could do themselves. When it was his object to elucidate some difficult point, it was his custom to open his trenches, so to speak, at a great distance; removing out of the way every obstacle, until he was prepared to make his assault on the main fortress. Thus, insensibly he led his hearers along, step by step, gaining their assent first to one proposition and then to another, until at last they could not easily avoid acquiescence in the conclusion to which he wished to bring them. As a clear and cogent reasoner, he had no superior among his contemporaries; and his pre-eminence in the exercise of this faculty, was acknowledged by all unprejudiced persons.

It has been hinted that Mr. Graham had enemies, who often had influence to impede or thwart his favorite schemes; and candor requires that it should be acknowledged, that he sometimes

imprudently made enemies of those who might have been efficient friends, by too free an indulgence of satirical and sarcastical remarks; which weapon he could wield with great power. And it must also be conceded, that towards his opponents he never manifested much of a conciliatory temper, but seemed rather disposed to stand aloof from them, and to set them at defiance.

In the government of youth, Mr. Graham was from the first a rigid and unyielding disciplinarian. He laid it down as a principle, that, at every risk, authority must be maintained; and when this was by any one resisted, however formidable the student might be in physical strength, or however many might combine to frustrate the regular exercise of discipline, he fearlessly went forward in the discharge of his duty, and generally triumphed over all opposition; and often inflicted severe castigation on the thoughtless persons who dared to rebel against lawful authority. Whether his rigor might not, in some instances, have been extreme, is a question on which judicious men would differ in opinion, and which need not be discussed.

As has been already hinted, the great error of his life was the relinquishment of the important station in which Providence had placed him, and for which he was so eminently qualified; and that at a time of life when he possessed the ability of being more useful than at any former period. Having removed to the banks of the Ohio river, he fell into great embarrassments, in the midst of which he died, in consequence of a violent fever contracted by exposure to frequent, drenching rains, while on a journey to Richmond. In that city he breathed his last, in the house of his friend, the late Col. Robert Gamble: and his remains were deposited very near the south door of the Episcopal Church on the hill, over which a plain marble slab, with a short inscription, is placed.

The extent of the influence exerted by this one man over the literature and religion of this region, cannot be calculated. As the stream which fertilizes a large district is small in its origin, but goes on continually increasing until it becomes a mighty river; so the influence of the Rev. William Graham did not cease when he died, but has gone on increasing, by means of his disciples, who have been scattered far and wide over the West and the South.

A debt of gratitude is due to him which cannot easily be repaid. Instead of a monument of marble, which has been richly deserved, an ample memoir of his life, with a particular history of this college in its various vicissitudes and conditions, and of some of its principal Alumni, educated under the tuition of Mr. Graham, would be a suitable tribute to his memory. And this work would seem to devolve naturally on some member of the Faculty. That it may be speedily undertaken, and faithfully executed, would no doubt be the ardent wish of every Alumnus present.

I wish also to preserve from oblivion the memory of the first tutor in this institution, after it was incorporated, Dr. James Priestley; a man of lively genius, and extraordinary attainments in some departments of literature. Mr. Priestley was the son of a poor but very pious man in this county. Mr. Graham having, in catechising the youth of his charge, noticed the readiness and accuracy with which this boy answered all the questions proposed to him, obtained the consent of his parents to take him into his own family, that he might give him a liberal education. The boy being endowed with a most retentive memory and a vivid imagination, soon became a distinguished scholar, and a tutor in the Academy. His memory was so extraordinary, that in hearing his pupils, he had no occasion to take a book into his hands. His principal attention was directed to Greek literature, in the accurate knowledge of which he greatly excelled. He sometimes entertained his pupils by spouting, with astonishing vehemence, the orations of Demosthenes, in Greek. Mr. Priestley devoted his whole life to the promotion of classical literature. The principal theatre of his labors was Georgetown, (District of Columbia,) Annapolis, and Baltimore, in the State of Maryland. In each of the forementioned places he established and superintended schools of a high grade of excellence.

His fame as a teacher of youth having spread extensively, he was selected as the first President of the Cumberland University, at Nashville, Tennessee. Here he spent the last years of his life; and though all were impressed with a high idea of his extraordinary learning, and his high qualifications as a classical teacher; yet he did not succeed well in organizing and arranging an infant college. He was indeed a very eccentric, though a very amiable

man ; and married a woman as eccentric as himself. Among the peculiar opinions which he fondly cherished, one was, that our future felicity would depend very much upon the degree of intellectual culture bestowed on the mind, as well as on its moral improvement ; an opinion which has been ingeniously maintained by a writer in one of our popular periodicals, recently.

Dr. Priestly possessed an enthusiastic ardor in favor of education which I have never seen surpassed ; and he succeeded in inspiring his pupils with something of the same. From him the speaker derived the first impulse in his literary course, and, therefore, he feels a pleasure in having this opportunity of paying a deserved tribute to the memory of a teacher, who was an ornament to this institution, in its earliest days.

In conclusion I would remark, that I feel myself this day placed in solemn circumstances. Of all those who were connected with this institution when I entered it, and for some years afterwards, whether as trustees, teachers, or students, there is not one remaining upon earth but myself. And very soon some other person who addresses the Alumni of Washington College may say the same in regard to those who now hear me. Time rolls swiftly on, and will soon bear on its rapid current the youngest and strongest among us to the ocean of eternity. Let us all then make it our chief care and study to prepare for an event which none can escape. While we are permitted to live, may we be found diligently fulfilling the duties of our respective stations in society ; endeavoring by all the means in our power to promote the welfare of our fellow creatures. Liberal learning is calculated to raise men not only above the gross pursuits of sensuality, but also to elevate them above the sordid pursuits of selfishness. Let us endeavor so to act, that on a retrospect of our lives, our conduct may meet with the approbation of our own consciences, and with the approbation of our God !

Having now finished what I wished to communicate, at this time, I must, my beloved friends, take a solemn and lasting farewell of you all ; never again expecting to see the faces of most of you in the flesh. May Heaven's richest blessings attend you !

CONCLUDING NOTE.

The Rev. James W. Alexander, D. D., in his life of his father the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander, gives an account of the circumstances under which this address was delivered, which we now copy as a matter of interest to the reader:

“Notwithstanding the adverse prognostics of this letter (referring to a letter of Dr. Alexander to his sister, written in 1842, in which he expressed a doubt whether at his age and in the state of his health he would ever be able to visit Virginia again), he was permitted to revisit Virginia in the summer of 1843. On this occasion he delivered a discourse before the Alumni Association of Washington College, on the Commencement Day, June 29th. From the crowd of persons and the extreme heat, he was during the address seized with a faintness, which was alarming, and which made it necessary for him to be carried into the open air. No expostulations, however, could induce him to desist. He was especially desirous to say something in honor of his old teacher, Mr. Graham. He therefore returned and completed the delivery of the address. Its last words were these: ‘Having now finished what I wished to communicate at this time, I must, my beloved friends, take a solemn and last farewell of you all; expecting never again to see the face of most of you in the flesh. May Heaven’s richest blessings attend you!’ From the columns of a religious journal, published some time after the event, we derive the following statement: ‘I shall never forget some circumstances connected with his last visit to Virginia. It was the summer of 1843. He came, as he told me when I met with him, reckoning upon it as his last visit to his native region. Dr. Alexander opened the Commencement exercises with a short prayer. A generation long gone by seemed to be represented in him, and while he sat looking down upon the scene, and partaking of the varying emotions that swayed the auditory, I could not but fancy what thoughts and feelings must have been passing through his mind, far out of the range of those that were present to the minds of others there. He had been one of the early students of Liberty Hall Academy, under its first rector, William Graham, a man of eminent talents and piety, who well deserves to be honored as the father of learning in West Virginia, and who was the preceptor likewise of Baxter, Speece, J. H. Rice, and other men of note, both in church and state.

“In the afternoon the audience again filled the spacious building to hear Dr. Alexander, the most of them for the last time. The heat of the crowded house, and the effort of the occasion, coming after the fatigue and excitement of the morning, were too much for an aged man, like Dr. Alexander. He faltered in the midst of his discourse, grew pale, stopped and sank back into his seat, every heart in the vast assembly beating quick at such an interruption. In a few moments he rose, and renewed the effort; but it would not do. It was not long before he gave way, and had to be carried out of the house in his chair. I had listened in painful anxiety from the time that he had commenced again, and the feelings of the audience were now all absorbed in concern for him. Who could tell but that the cords of an aged and feeble life, too tensely stretched, might suddenly snap, and the scene wind up with a melancholy and thrilling event.

“Friends gathered around him, and begged that he would leave off, suggesting that, with his consent, the address would be printed. He declared his intention of going on. It was then suggested that the rest should be read by some person for him. But no, he persisted strangely, and as it almost seemed, obstinately. What was the secret of his pertinacity? He had an office to perform; he had a tribute to pay on that last occasion. And there, under the shadow of the old church, surrounded by the descendants of his own paternal family, and of his contemporaries, amidst the tombs of his own generation, and within a few yards of the graves of his own parents, he sat and read his tribute to Mr. Graham—the audience clustering around him, and hanging with fixed and tearful attention on his closing words. He sketched the character of Graham, spoke of his services to the cause of learning and religion, and concluded with a few impressive remarks, in which he spoke of himself as the sole survivor of the whole number of officers and students connected with Liberty Hall at the time of his entrance, and for two or three years afterwards, and exhorted those about him, as one who never expected to see them again, to seek salvation through the infinite merits of a Redeemer.

“The address has been printed. But it needs that one should have been present to feel the full impression of it, as delivered.

“That face and form, that group, the old church, the church-yard with its monuments, all seen amid the lengthening shadows of declining day, formed a scene for a painter's pencil. It was a most striking and appropriate picture for the last page of such a man's pilgrimage to the place of his birth and of his fathers' graves.

N. L.’

“Concerning this visit, his eldest brother, Andrew Alexander, Esq., thus wrote: ‘We have been very much gratified with the visit of your father. There were frequently present the three brothers and two sisters. It is not common for so many aged brothers and sisters to meet; the youngest being sixty-seven years old. It is not at all probable that we shall ever again meet in this world.’ It is instructive to add, that at this present writing, only one of that venerable circle survives.”—*Life of Dr. Archibald Alexander*, pp. 554–557.





1

L

